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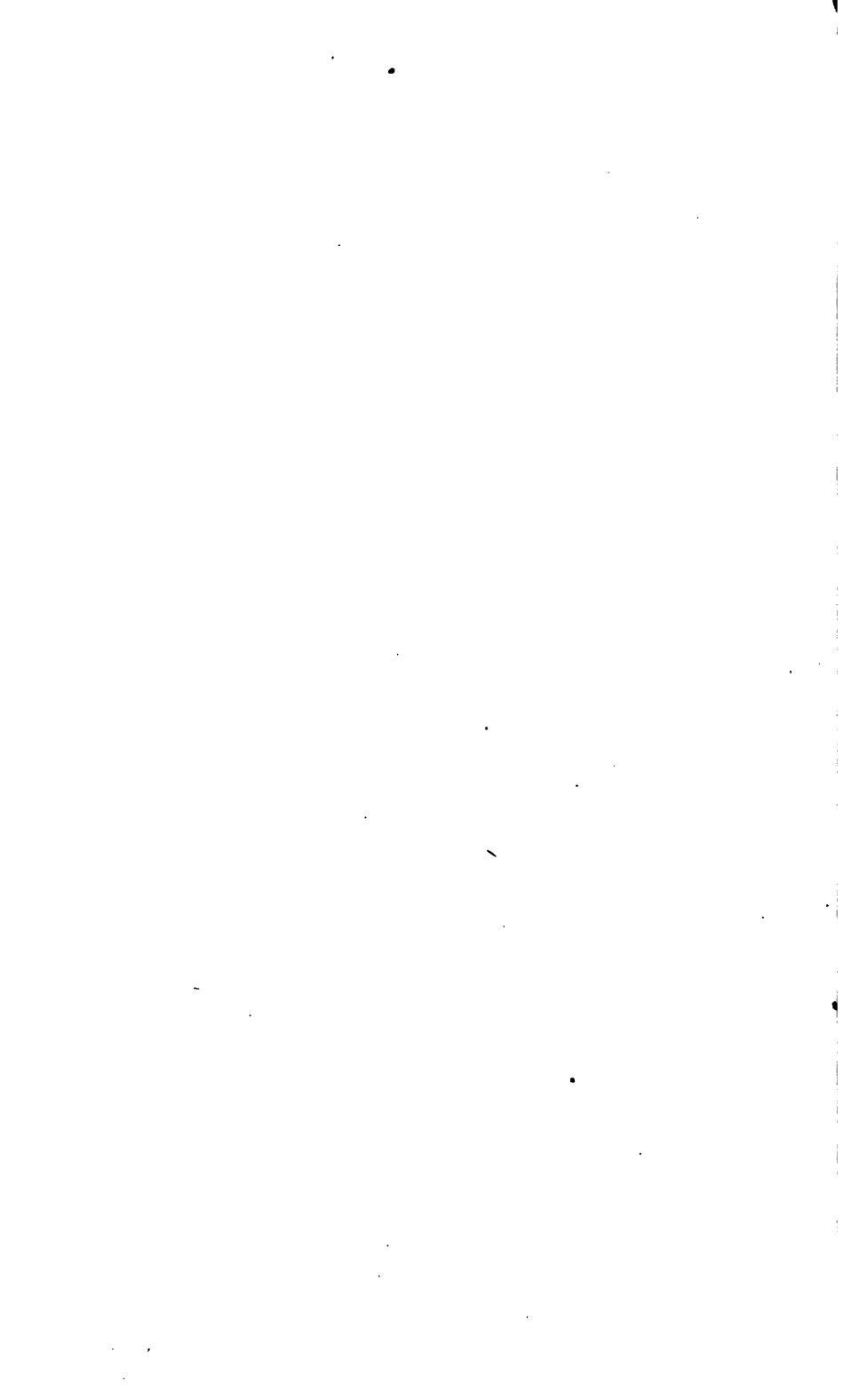
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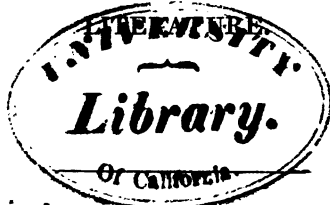






ON THE
CLASSICAL TONGUES
AND THE ADVANTAGES OF
THEIR STUDY.

AN INAUGURAL DISCOURSE,
PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE GOVERNOR
AND LEGISLATURE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
BY REQUEST OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE
SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE,
DECEMBER, 12, 1835,
IN THE
SENATE CHAMBER;
BY ISAAC W. STUART,
PROFESSOR OF GREEK AND ROMAN



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ADDRESS.

In the following Address I propose to review and justify the Department, in the College of South Carolina, over which I am called to preside—that of the Literature of Greece and Rome.

Greece and Rome! the homes of men in whom all the energies of human nature were combined and developed in the most wonderful manner—the grand nurseries of philosophers, and historians, and artists, and statesmen and heroes! Greece, the sunny couch on which Liberty first awoke in smiles, and the grave where at last she was ignobly sepulchred, not destroyed! Rome, that after her own elastic infancy had been rocked in storms, caught and reflected the radiance of her expiring foe and sister! Signal examples each of self-government and subjection, of mildness and tyranny, of opulence and penury, of happiness and misery, of glory and shame, how do these countries live in the immortality of fame! The memorials of their rise and fall, are the first to warm our imaginations and instruct our understandings. We think of that infidel banner but now floating over the sacred hill of Mars, and the Moslem minaret towering above the very area of the once majestic Parthenon, and sadden over the contrasted desolation of great Athens. We view the few solitary pillars of the Roman Capitol, and the fragment of the broken Coliseum, and the Seven Hills,

"Alone unchanged, while all is changed around,"

and weep that ever prophecies of woe to the Eternal City should have received such wasting confirmation.

But from whence springs the intense and universal interest respecting nations, which have forever ceased to be what they were?

How is it that, beyond any other of antiquity, their Growth and Decay are traced with such never-ending curiosity and gratification? Great nations existed before them and around them. But they have nothing, or but little, in their character and history to identify them permanently, or at least *sympathetically*, with humanity. Look at them. The Babylonian and Assyrian empires! These have now been known but in the shadow of tradition for nearly five thousand years—geographical curiosity has long laboured in vain to fix a single definite trace of the city founded by the mighty Nimrod, or of that which glittered to the sun in one perpetual sheen of splendor when Ninus and Semiramis ruled in haughty Ninevah. Persia, that great Empire of the East, where “the palaces of kings were built on the ruins of the towers of Paradise!” Her Persepolis, and Ecbatana and Susa are remembered but as cities of cumbersome magnificence—her many provinces often indeed waved with the harvests which a superstitious agriculture produced, but were oftener rolled over by the scythe-chariots of war, and were at last yielded up, in inglorious subjection, to the Alexanders and Cæsars of nations destined to an immortality thrice more glorious. Egypt! divided and fertilized through its whole length by the great river-nurse of civilization—peopled by a race which, in the glad hope of living forever, reared the pyramids, the colossal sphinxes, the majestic temples of Ammon, the palaces of Luxor and the royal sepulchres! Alas! her history is that of a nation whose energies were exhausted on the external and sensible—it is the history of gigantic art born of superstition. We turn from the desolation of her valley of the Nile, from the triumphal procession of her Pharaohs on the walls of her tombs, from the ruins, silent and majestic, of Memphis and Thebes; from these we turn, with riveted fondness, to nations more justly, deepest remembered, and *identified* with the life of modern times.

The Greeks and Romans! They exhibit, beside the most striking external life and action, internal life and mental action in their intensest and grandest degrees. Here is the true cause of their elevation above other nations of antiquity. With them the immortal mind received its fullest development. They are the *Classical* nations. They have left imperishable memorials of their genius in their Literature. These memo-

rials, after being revived and appreciated with a feverish enthusiasm in the schools of Italy, have been spread throughout Europe and America. For three centuries they have assisted, more than any other means, to form, refine and polish the minds of rising generations, and to nurse the inspiration of genius; and they still continue, by common consent, to lie at the foundation of a manly, liberal education. Their claims to this distinction and importance we propose now to examine, and to show why and how the study of them is so indispensable to all whose object is to reach high and polished excellence.

First then, **THE STUDY OF THE CLASSICS DISCIPLINES THE MIND.**

Let us examine the process of acquiring languages and of translation, as justly conducted. In its first stage—that of Grammar—attention, memory and reflection are mainly concerned. These faculties, severely exercised, are continually increased in power, till the tyro reaches the second and principal stage of his study—that of translation. Here first the meanings of words are to be settled. This cannot be done without an accurate knowledge of the parts of speech, without a nice appreciation of grammatical relation, and often without careful comparisons with the context. In the earliest and simplest process of translation, therefore, there is increasing necessity for the exercise of faculties already in training, and a new demand on the powers of judgment, comparison and deduction. Follow the Student as he advances to involved and difficult sentences. Here words have greater variety of meanings. Their meanings, beside, as independent or relative, are often at variance; and often depend on the nicest inflections, or place in the order of inversions. Clauses multiply and require a greater number of relations to be investigated. Idioms occur, and demand the labor of noting peculiarities. The sense may poise on a particle seemingly indefinite and expletive. Attention, memory and reflection are now therefore more severely tasked. A more extensive collation of parts demands a nicer exercise of judgment and comparison, and gives fuller employment to the reasoning power, in discerning and applying results. In a word, an entire work of analysis and synthesis, its noblest employment, exercises fervently the whole understanding. But follow the Classical Student farther, from

single sentences to sentences combined, and on to paragraphs combined. Beside now analysing and recomposing the relation of words, his mind analyses and recomposes the relation of sentences; beside comparing the parts of a single thought, it compares entire and different thoughts, weighs the connection of distinct ideas and groups of ideas, and traces through them all the unity of a reigning subject. From particulars it has now proceeded to generals, and is exercised on a still grander scale. A whole train of thoughts is to be pursued. Any loss in the train is to be corrected by greater vigilance of attention and memory—any imperfection in ideas, by intenser application in the reinvestigation of sentences; till finally the mind becomes prepared to make its general appreciation of the subject of translation. This last most difficult and important process, on which, as directed to various subjects, all excellence and success in life depends, is thus the final and constant duty of the Classical Student, and with him is guided and made effective by his preliminary discipline. His reflection in this case operates upon particulars well understood, well arranged. His conclusions, therefore, are not too hasty, nor founded on partial observation, and for the same reason his mind appropriates with happier selection and more permanent memory.

We have considered Classical Study, thus far, in reference simply to its admirable discipline of faculties. Let us examine it now as it forms some most valuable habits of mind.

And first, *it forms the habit of settling the signification of words.* The supreme importance of this habit will be at once perceived, when we reflect how much of the error and heated useless disputes of men result from verbal ignorance or misapprehension. Locke, it will be remembered, found in this circumstance one of the chief obstacles in the way of the human understanding, and it formed a grand motive for undertaking his *Philosophical Treatise*. Can any process so good be devised, for removing this obstacle, as that ever necessary exercise in settling definite meanings, which Classical Study affords? Surely none.

Again, *Classical Study perpetually accustoms the mind to acquire and apply true principles.* This results from the dependence of signification on Syntax. The application of false

rules, or the false application of correct rules constantly involves the student in erroneous constructions and uncertain ideas. He is thus forced, by the very nature of his task, to seek true grammatical principles; that is, he is early disciplined in the application of correct standards—a discipline, the paramount importance of which is conclusively shown, by the abounding misery which results from false judgments.

Again, *Classical Study forms the habit of easy expression.* The mind, constantly busy in acquiring new terms, is as constantly busy, from the nature of translation, in expressing them; and fluency and ease are the consequence of an increasing vocabulary and repeated use.

Again, *Classical Study forms the habit of correcting and of correctness.* Indistinct and imperfect ideas always at first accompany difficult translation. Those which are clear and complete, therefore, are formed only by the correction of past misapprehension and mistake.

Classical Study, farther, forms the habit of appreciating congruity. This results from the constant necessity of understanding concord and government, the adaptation of word to word and clause to clause, till a thought be fully expressed.

Classical Study, farther, accustoms the mind to form and direct its own trains of thought. This must necessarily be the effect, from the force of discipline and imitation, on a mind long engaged in pursuing trains of thought in others.

If now, to all these habits, we add those of method, of self-control and patience, absolutely essential in every process of investigation, and that effective discipline of simple faculties already examined, we shall have a numerous series of benefits resulting from Classical Study considered solely in point of mental discipline—benefits on which all elevated success in life depends, and which in no other way can be secured so perfectly. No one who has observed the effect, upon youth, of this discipline, even in its first preliminary and somewhat tedious stages, can doubt for a moment but that their minds have received greater impetus from this cause than from all other causes united—and every liberally educated man must trace back to it the first vigorous awakening of his understanding.
Hic scientiæ et sapientiæ altæ radices.

For the discipline now considered, I have implied that *the Latin and Greek are better suited than any other languages.*

They are superior *in conciseness*. Look, for example, at their elegant brevity in modern inscriptions and epitaphs. They are superior from *their latitude of verbal arrangement*, in their use of an order of words finely dependant on taste, which, more natural in many respects than that in modern languages, keeps the attention constantly raised, and gives beauty and energy to periods. They are superior also *in melody and in significance*.

By universal acknowledgment, the Greek stands at the head of all languages, both ancient and modern. Melodized in its very infancy, by an Orpheus, a Thamyris and Linus of polished poetical harmony, and corrected by a philosophic Cecrops and Cadmus; acquiring constantly greater purity and copiousness from the wonderful progress of the arts and sciences in ancient Greece, from the contributions of numerous free states, and from the long brilliant succession of men of genius who made its capacities their accurate study, it became, in Athens especially, an idiom of transcendant accomplishment. Its music, its flexibility, its very painting of sensible objects, its derivative analogy, by which, as by a wand, we open at once upon its spacious treasure-palace of words—they are passing wonderful! Majestic in the tide of Epic inspiration—rich and calm where the Soul of Philosophy breathes—flowing, or austere, or of simple expressive beauty in History—surcharged with conversational and comic force in its pictures of intercourse and of wit—sparkling with festivity when Cheerfulness and Love band in the dance of poesy—of tenderest pathos when the heart breaks in mourning—impetuous and overpowering when Passion tyrannizes, and the Lyre is swept, and Eloquence bursts—the Greek language, more various, more perfect than any other, is “the shrine of the genius of the old world, as universal as our race, as individual as ourselves.”

The Latin language, though inferior to the Greek in copiousness and flexibility and harmony, yet, as improved by the Greeks themselves after their subjection to Rome, and by native orators and poets, displays, in the Augustan age, great strength and richness. Its transpositive power is greater than that of any other language. Its modulation is easy and delight-

ful. Like the Greek, it is sublime and rapid in eloquence and the epic, or by turns calm and delicate. It displays elegant simplicity and grandeur in narration. At times it bounds over the startling events of civil discord and campaigns with tumultuous energy and conciseness. When it stays to teach the philosophy of an event, to point a moral, or mark a lesson of prudence, it leaves its impression deepening and riveted in the soul. In its elegiac power plaintive and touching, of embellished sweetness in the romance of mythology, of bitterest poignancy when vice and folly feel its lash, naive and terse in Comedy—in its lyric power now grand, now tender, now hilarious, this language, more than the Greek that of war and empire, and next to the Greek that of thought and feeling, is one of the most significant variety and splendor.

The Greek and Latin languages are then, from their surpassing excellence as polished, perfected instruments of thought, better fitted than any other to answer those great purposes of education already described. But they have beside other claims considered simply as languages. Together with the Teutonic, they are the sources from which all the idioms of Europe are derived. Their principles of grammar and rules of syntax are fundamentally those of modern tongues. They stand in nearly the same relation to Europe, which the Sanscrit, that great original “of every dialect from the Persian Gulf to the China Seas,” stands to Asia. When known, therefore, they wonderfully facilitate the acquisition of modern languages; they make our own native tongue easier of comprehension and of use.

We have now showed that the study of language is most important for its discipline of mental faculties, and that this purpose is best answered by the Latin and Greek, languages admirable in themselves, and rendered still more important from the parental relation which they bear to those of modern times. We add, in concluding testimony to their disciplinary value, that no languages so fully develope and exercise the understanding, where at the same time this development and exercise can be so easily accommodated to the minds of learners, and where embarrassments and difficulty, after suitable exertions of time and effort, are sooner or more delightfully lost in the triumph of successful acquisition.

BY CLASSICAL STUDY, in the second place, TASTE AND STYLE ARE BEST FORMED.

That faculty which nicely appreciates all that is great and good, and beautiful and sublime, in the two worlds of matter and of mind, is *Taste*. That mode on which thought depends for its expression and for its magic effect, is *Style*. How now can Taste and Style, thus incalculably important, be best formed and cultivated? Principally, according to the judgment of the most competent directors, *by the study of correct models*—a study which immediately leads the mind to acquire that habit “of comparing and digesting its notions,” which is pronounced by Sir Joshua Reynolds, *supremely* requisite in forming a correct taste, and to the importance of which Dugald Stewart bears strong testimony, when he speaks of a spirit of accurate observation and patient induction as implied in this faculty. A study also which brings the mind directly in contact with those very excellencies of which it is in want—which inspires it with knowledge of principles and execution, and prepares it for its own independent action. The fervent genius; relieved from delay and wanderings, often fruitless, in search of Truth, here, in the study of correct models, enters her very Paradise—scans her heavenly proportions, and drinks in the harmony of her looks, in her own presence—sends his eye, new-lighted with joy and wonder, far over the magnificence of her possessions and on each individual splendor, in the very spot of their dazzling existence, and leaves her abode penetrated with Truth’s own divinest influences, bewildered and overpowered by that Enthusiasm of Perfection, which only abates to stimulate and guide one unceasing effort in the self-production of excellence.

Such then being the effect of a just study of Models, we are prepared to inquire where the most correct Models can be found?

By universal consent in the writings and arts of Greece and Rome! In Greece, education adopted Greek text-books, and artists were nursed on native inspiration. What an offspring, like bees, fed on the honey-cells of Homer! In Rome, it adopted Greek and Roman text-books, and artists studied and imitated Greek Models. In modern times it has also universally adopted Greek and Roman text-books, modern art has been awakened and disciplined by the master-pieces of antiquity.

Thus from the early period of Greek cultivation down to the present time, the Classics and Classical art have had the unvarying judgment of men in their favor. This judgment has pronounced upon their merits in all respects, and in regard to taste and style, has awarded to them, in general, an entire superiority. "The common sentiments and feelings of men," as Dr. Blair conclusively remarks on this head, "where alone the standard of decision is to be found, have on the most extensive examination been fully consulted. The public, the unprejudiced public has been tried and appealed to for many centuries, and throughout almost all civilized nations. It has pronounced its verdict. It has given its sanction to the writers of Greece and Rome, and from this tribunal there lies no farther appeal."

We might rest the question of the superiority of Classical Models here, firmly on the broad basis of the long and universal judgment of men. But let us look at the reason and nature of this superiority. Why are these Models thus in advance of all others?

We answer, because they exhibit most that knowledge of what is truly natural, in which is comprised "the beginning, the middle and the end of every thing valuable in taste." They are characterized by greater purity and delicacy, by an exact simplicity of imitation, and correctness and force of embellishment. They exhibit the play of sensibilities

"Active and strong, and feelingly alive
To each fine impulse."

They correspond most perfectly in style to the nature of emotions and passions. With all the freshness of youth, they show the guiding judgment of manhood. They spring out of a period when men saw and felt, and wrought and described, without "the spectacles of books," free from the endless and confusing associations of a world full of knowledge, free from the metaphysical restraints of language, free from the carp and chain of criticism. They form emphatically a natural intellectual Eden. Poetry, history, eloquence, philosophy, colloquy, each has its department, and architecture, painting and sculpture are in finished excellence!

Look at Poetry! To whom do we owe the birth and perfection of the majestic Epopee? To Homer and Virgil, geni

uses whose sublimity, and fire, and simplicity, and elegance, and variety have never been surpassed, and never, in all characteristics of a perfect Epic, been equalled. In Lyric poetry, where are our Models? They are in those strains which the Eolic bard first chanted, when, on the plains of Elis, steed and chariot moved in the tide of Olympic song, and in those which Horace sang, calmly yet animated and festive, on the banks of the Tiber: A Rousseau, a Dryden, a Cowley, a Gray, in modern times have strung the imitative lyre, yet who, but the last, ever wakened tones so stirring? In Elegiac poetry, who by triumphant acclamation is styled its prince? The Roman Tibullus, he whose exquisite tenderness of thought and feeling, and delicate beauty of mournful sentiment, and uniform purity of thought and diction, in a period too of excessive dissoluteness, have for ever consecrated his memory—he whose tones of love and sorrow are of the golden age, poured from the harp “*mitis amoris in umbrosa valle.*” Had not Byron drank deeply the inspiration of this Roman poet, and particularly of the last most plaintive strains of his third book, he had not produced, in his lines to Thyrza, perhaps the most perfect specimen of elegiac poetry which the modern world has seen. But farther in Pastoral poetry, who by common consent stand at the head of this department? The Grecian Theocritus and the Roman Virgil—the first, the unaffected, more strictly imitative narrator of the swain’s life and heart-warm contests; the second, a more refined and ideal narrator, yet each, perfect master of pastoral sentiment and dialogue. Philips, Gesner, Pope have well imitated, but never equalled their ancient teachers. In Satirical poetry, is not the Model of the calmer kind to be found in Horace, that of the caustic and fiery in the bold, enthusiastic Juvenal? In the Didactic department of poetry, where are lessons and descriptions more admirably presented than those in the “*Works and Days,*” and the Agricultural Georgics; and where is the genius, who, like the Roman Lucretius, at the same time that he teaches barren system, blends with details *de natura rerum* such force of illustration, such splendor of description, and who, with such accurate energy urges onward trains of argument?

Look at the Dramatic department of ancient poetry. It is radically different from the modern as regards the fable, the

chorus and the decoration, and often essentially different in spirit. But so far as simplicity of dialogue, naked beauty of ideas, pathos, energy, sublimity are concerned, it will ever remain a most perfect Model to all the Alfieris and Schillers and Shakspeares of ages to come. What unity, what iron firmness of endurance, what superlative grandeur of soul in Prometheus, as he is depicted by Eschylus, chained everlastingly to the crags of Caucasus! What excess of unalleviated desolation in the Philoctetes of Sophocles, a plague-stricken prisoner, groaning to the rocks on the barren isle of Lemnos, and how natural, eager, and fatal the curiosity of the fate-tossed, incestuous, self-sacrificing Edipus! What overpowering intensity of madness and watchings and beguilings of sisterly affection in the Orestes and Electra of Euripides! What sublime self-devotion and rending farewells in his Alcestis—what striking disguise of jealousy and awful vengeance for violated faith in his Medea! In the delineation of these characters there are situations so suited to the strongest exaction on the sensibilities, such correspondence of sentiment to situation and of manner to sentiment—there is so much of ideal elevation and select nature, such awakening and deepening in the soul of the sense of proportion and harmony, that the taste and style of the Classical Student, by a sympathy the most acute and enchanting, are attracted to form and ripen.

Turn now to the Historical department of Ancient Literature. In Herodotus we find an orderly distribution of materials, and a style copious, and persuasive. In Thucydides, an unfortunate distribution, but the nicest accuracy, and a style sententious and nervous—a style which Demosthenes so much admired as adapted to the orator, that eight times with his own hand he copied the History of the Peloponnesian War. In Xenophon we have a style so clear, and such “inimitable *naivete* of manner,” that his *Cyropedia*, now admitted to be an historical romance, was long believed to be a true history of the life and institutions of the elder Cyrus. In Livy we find a style and diction chaste, excellent arrangement and fine embellishment. Sallust, polished, sententious, discriminating, is the Isocrates of History. Tacitus, methodical, concise, vigorous, by turns poet, philosopher and annalist, is perhaps more versatile and impressive than any other of the ancient histori-

ans.. His life of Agricola and Plutarch's Lives are Models hardly ever equalled in the biographical department of History.

In Philosophical writing, farther, the Classics furnish us with the most perfect models in Plato and Cicero. In dialogue writing, we have the natural, witty Lucian—in epistolary writing, the Letters of Pliny and Cicero—in profound criticism, Aristotle, in elegant criticism, Quintilian—in eloquence, Demosthenes and Cicero, the Pelion and Ossa of the rostrum, “*sese attollentes in auras, et capita inter nubila condentes.*”

I have said that the arts of architecture, painting and sculpture were in finished excellence among the ancients. In calculating their taste and style, these arts and their influence on modern times deserve particular mention.

Look at *Architecture*. The temple of Theseus, the Coliseum, the Corinthian columns of the temple of Olympian Jove, pillars, arches, pilasters, doors, piers—these and thousand more still existing memorials of the Classical nations, together with the numerous records preserved of their past magnificence now in ruins, are the sources from which modern architects derived their knowledge of the principles and many of the noblest varieties of their art. Modern Architecture rose emphatically in Italy on the ruins of the Greek and Roman. The Greeks alone invented three out of the five orders, and though the modern Gothic may possess a superiority in austere solemnity, still the grave and Herculean Doric, with the husks and roses on the frizes, and the fascia and fillet on the architraves of its columns, is almost equally impressive and more pleasing. The Ionic order, graceful, majestic, neat, with its fluted columns and volutes, is the perfection of easy beauty and grandeur. The Corinthian, profusely ornamental, with its olive-crowned capitals, is the model of flowing, luxurious elegance.

In *Painting*, with what high ideas of the perfection of this art are the names of Zeuxis, Parrhasius, Polygnotus and Apelles associated! What Classical Scholar does not remember the ancient painting of the cluster of grapes, so natural that the birds flew to devour them; and that of the curtain which deceived the judgment even of Zeuxis himself, and that of the tiled roof on the walls of the theatre of Claudius Pulcher, on which the rooks, mistaking it for a reality, crowded to light!

From descriptions of the art as anciently practiced, and from its memorials which still exist, uncovered often from the ashes of Herculaneum and the ruins of Rome, the moderns first obtained their knowledge of design, of beautiful forms and just expression. The superior schools of Florence and Rome had emphatically antiquity for their guide. Antiquity taught Michael Angelo his perfection in outlines, and Raphael his wonderful skill in "joining of the bones and flexibility of articulation," and the heads of Mithridates, Alexander Dying, Seneca and Cleopatra have furnished exquisite lessons to thousands of modern painters. Antiquity also has furnished the grandest subjects, with the exception of those derived from the Scriptures, to artists of succeeding times. Inferior to the moderns in the science of the *claro-obscuro*, in grouping, in perspective, in enchanting decoration, the ancients are their superiors in unity and simplicity of design, in lastingness of colors, and in ideal figures, and their equals in expression and in truth. Their Taste and Style, therefore, as indicated by the art of painting, possess high merit.

In *Sculpture*, the ancients bear the palm alone, and the test of the excellence of modern sculpture, by uniform acknowledgement, is the ancient. Phidias, Praxiteles, Apelles, Lysippus, Polycletus, Scopas, Alcamenes, Myron—history is crowded with evidence of their marvellous art, and still existing monuments attest the skill of some of these masters. Niobe and her daughters still express in marble the intensest fear of death. Pallas, grand and simple, some of the muses, a model of infant beauty in a Satyr, Laocoon in agonizing pain but of masterly courage and magnanimity, the sublime Apollo Belvidere, the sweet and languishing Venus, the Gladiator, these illustrious memorials still survive, the grand teachers of modern artists in expression, gesture and attitude. It is the opinion of the Abbe Winkelman, the most laborious and complete historian of ancient art, that these should be studied even in preference to the works of nature. They prove conclusively that the Greek artists are happiest of all in their selection of expression, and most graceful in their marble contours. Their draperies, beside, are the most beautiful—draperies of such nicety that the chiselled texture accurately revealed the different materials of which they were made. Their rules of

art were more certain than the modern—rules which guided, as is abundantly apparent from the Models which remain, such “freedom and accuracy” in the use of the chisel, as are plainly inconsistent with its use in correction. The Taste and Style of the ancients then, as indicated by the perfection of their sculpture, were superior to those of any other nation.

We have now showed that the education of Taste and Style is to a very great extent imitative, and that ancient Literature and Art furnish, in these respects, the most perfect Models. The conclusion, therefore, is abundantly warranted, that Taste and Style are formed and improved in no way so well and so rapidly as by Classical Study, nor are they formed at all in any perfection without this study.

THE CLASSICS, in the third place, STORE THE MIND WITH USEFUL KNOWLEDGE AND ELEVATED IDEAS.

Look at the immense extent and importance of political and social knowledge which they contain. From the British Isles to the Indus, from the Sea of Denmark to the remote sources of the Nile, they lay open the great world of Antiquity for our instruction. We see national life, among great varieties of people, in *its Growth* through conflict and storms, including the origin and modes of legislative, executive and judicial power, and usages, opinions and sentiments flowing from the political and social condition. We see national life in *its Maturity*, as it is strengthened by habit and expanded by the thousand causes which affect all knowledge, manners and institutions. We see national life also in *its Decay*, as its peculiar forms disappear, as their disappearance is clearly marked by gradations in the balances of absolute, oligarchical, or popular power and corruption—by gradations in the violation and destruction of laws and justice—by gradations in poverty, and defeats and humiliations successively endured. Within this immense sphere of History there are countless individual examples of every ruling Virtue and Vice. Justice has often here its Aristides—integrity its Socrates, its Fabius, its Cato and the Antonines—self-sacrificing bravery its Leonidas—love its Damon and Pythias—voluptuousness its Aspasia and Cleopatra—ambitious and triumphant statesmanship its Themistocles and Pericles—intrigue its Alcibiades and Antony—philanthropic legislation its Solon and Lycurgus. War and empire have here their

Alexander and Cæsar—peace has often its Phocion—sedition its Catiline—cruelty its Nero—luxury its Cræsus and Lucullus. Greek and Roman History develope human nature in greater variety of individual splendor—they contain more instances of dazzling existence both in excellence and in crime than can be found in all other histories united.

Look at the wonderful variety of the Ancients in Philosophy. Speculations like those of the Pantheistic Eleatic School, and material Atomic, like those of the sceptical ostentatious Sophists, and the austere Cynics, and the self-indulgent Cyrenæics and Epicureans, like those of the apathetic Pyrrhonists and the subtle disputants of the Megaric School, are, it is true, often frivolous and impious. They are of no importance but for the relative knowledge they afford the student of Philosophy, and the exhibition of peculiarities of mind and opinion. But in the writings and schools of the nobler Philosophy of the Ancients, we find frequent beauty and grandeur of moral instruction, profound and correct reasoning. We derive from them the knowledge of experiment, induction, analogy, analysis, synthesis, and of the rules of propositions, conclusions and proofs. We derive classifications and descriptions of nature and of mental faculties. In short, we derive most important knowledge in Logic, Metaphysics and Morals, in Economy and Politics. From the Minstrel Gnomic poets and the Seven Sententious Wise—from the Crotonean groves of the sage Pythagoras and the home of Anaxagoras in the heavens—from the Campanian villas of the didactic Tully and the moral Seneca—from the embowered retreats of the fervent, religious Plato and the logical Aristotle, there where the musical Ilyssus and Cephissus beautified the holy repose of the Lyceum and Academy—from all these her dwelling places, the Muse of Philosophy pours her deep, solemn lessons of wisdom and happiness. The knowledge of Ancient Philosophy then, in great part, is highly valuable from its intrinsic interest.

But it is valuable also, nay necessary, for another and highly important reason. Without it the metaphysical opinions and conflicts of modern times cannot be understood. The Scholastic Philosophy which chained the minds of men to quiddities and entities and unproductive formulas during the middle ages was the abuse of Aristotle's system—the absurd identifi-

ation of his *form* with his *matter*. The systems which, in the fifteenth century, on the revival of learning, were used to attack and overthrow the Scholastic, were those of Aristotle and Plato revived. These systems have continued until the present time to exert a deep and most extensive influence on the minds of men. The system of Plato, as modified by Kant, is now fundamentally the system of Germany,—as modified by Cousin in the Eclectic School, it is that of France, and Neo-Platonism is advancing both in England and America. But farther, the Ideal, the Material, the Sensual, the Sceptical and Experimental Schools of modern times are but revived and modified forms of the ancient Eleatic, Ionic, Atomic, Pyrrhonic and Peripatetic, and with the exception of those which have their foundation in the Mysticism borrowed from the East, almost all the principal varieties of modern philosophy, have their origin somewhere in the reasonings of the Ancients. The knowledge of their Philosophy, therefore, is both highly valuable and necessary, and the Classics, consequently, which make us acquainted with it are of supreme importance.*

* In the following view I have endeavoured to exhibit the principal varieties and some characteristics of ancient philosophy.

We have first the *Gnostic* or *Sententious* Philosophy, which includes those concise and admirable rules of practical wisdom delivered by the Seven Wise Men and ancient Poets of Greece. Then follow the Schools. *First*, the *Ionic*, *experimental*, and in its doctrine of an Intellectual Author of the Universe as taught by the virtuous Anaxagoras, elevated. *Second*, the *formal Pythagorean* School; it investigated with great utility the principles of the mathematical sciences, viewed the world as a harmonious whole, in whose revolving Decades was heard the music of the spheres, and regarded Destiny and the Deity as the ultimate causes of all things, and the soul as a bright emanation from above. Though in its morality rather ascetic, it originated and discovered many noble principles. *Third*, the *Eleatic* School, and its varieties; intellectual and imaginary, teaching the eternity and immutability of matter, it was the School of Idealism and Pantheism. *Fourth*, the *Atomic* School, experimental and fanciful; it taught the eternal variability and change of matter, and made the soul material. *Fifth*, the *Sophistical* School, useful as it compelled philosophers to examine more closely, but sceptical, ostentations of knowledge, and versed only in the tricks of logic. *Sixth*, the *Socratic* School, simple, elevated, inductive and analytical; it made a new era in philosophy. *Seventh*, the *Cynical* School, and its offspring the *Stoic*; they were abstinent, austere, and indifferent to all things except virtue and vice. *Eighth*, the *Cyrenaic* School and its offspring the Epicurean; they taught the philosophy of self-indulgence, and founded a system of morals on the sensations. Then follow the School of *Pyrrho*, that of apathy and doubt, and the *Megarian* School, that also of doubt and of dialectic subtleties employed on questions of possibilities. We next come to the School of *Plato*, in whom theoretical and practical philosophy were nobly united, and whose magnificent powers of reasoning and poetry of eloquence have rarely been equalled. The first great service to Philosophy was rendered by him. He divided it into the branches of Logic, Metaphysics, and Morals, and wrote largely on each. He first distinguished the analytic and synthetic methods, distinguished the faculties of knowledge and described their operations. He discriminated abstract and concrete ideas,

Farther, the knowledge to be derived from Greek and Latin posterior to the strictly Classical Period must not be omitted. A critical and just understanding of the Scriptures depends on an accurate knowledge of the *Hellenistic* style of Greek, as formed by the Alexandrian Jews. Acquaintance with the *Ecclesiastical* style both of Greek and Latin is also of the utmost importance to all who would avail themselves of the riches of Christian Schools like those of Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople, and of writers like Eusebius, like the eloquent Chrysostom, and Lactantius, "the Christian Cicero." The Latin language, farther, in modern times, after being that of laws, judicial proceedings and charters, has been and continues to be most extensively used in science, commentary and colloquy; it must therefore be known in order properly to understand modern history and institutions, modern science and criticism.

We have affirmed, under the present branch of the subject, that the Classics *store the mind with elevated ideas*. We except here many traditions of mythology, many tales of the fantastic and the marvellous. But religion, so far as its groundwork is in human nature—morality as it speaks in the universal bosom of man—virtue and noble action, these are themes on which ancient poets and philosophers have dwelt long and deeply. Sublime in themselves, they are made more attractive by the magic of verse, and the power of reason. But we cannot stay to particularize. Does it elevate our conceptions to

and sketched the rules of propositions, conclusions and proofs. He was the first who attempted to prove the soul's immortality; he taught the most sublime ideas of the Divinity, and sought truth in every form deeply and fervently. Broadly distinguished from the rationalism of Plato by its *empirical* cast, is the philosophy of Aristotle, a man wonderful for his variety and extent of knowledge, and profound analytic powers. With him ideas are derived from experience. In his *Organum*, he has aided logic immensely, and closely considers propositions, ideas and language. He was the first to cultivate Psychology, has written copiously on Ethics, Politics and Economics, and every where exhibits splendid powers of rigorous philosophical criticism. After Aristotle we have the School of the *New Academy*, of rather a sceptical cast, with which Truth is nothing but as it is determined by the greater amount of probabilities. This School flourished principally at Rome, under Cicero, together with the Peripatetic and Stoic. The Romans were wanting, however, generally, in true philosophic spirit. They derived what philosophy they possessed from the Greeks, and used it for selfish ends. Their Neo-Platonism, Neo-Pythagoreanism, and the New-Scepticism of Aenesidemus, are modifications of Greek philosophy worthy of study for the peculiarities of Roman character which they exhibit.

For a detailed view of Greek Philosophy, as well as for the explanation of its connection with modern philosophy, we would refer the learned reader to the *Manual* of Tenneman.

view the first, fresh, illustrious, immortal triumphs of the human soul? These are embalmed and preserved in the Classic Languages. Does it make us thrill with sublime emotion to gaze over the glorious displays of Freedom? Her Spirit from the thousand sun lit hill sides and plains and promontories of rejoicing Greece, and from the vales of primeval Latium and the summits of the Apennines, first awoke in songs and thanksgivings.

From the review now taken the position assumed in the third branch of our subject seems abundantly warranted. The Greek and Latin languages are emphatically worthy of study *for the useful knowledge and the elevated ideas with which they store the mind.*

We have now considered the claims of Classical Study on three principal grounds, sufficiently, we would trust, to establish them. In view of these grounds we cannot perceive the force of objections which are sometimes urged against this study.

Some opponents propose to substitute the Hebrew for Greek and Latin. Do those who make this proposition know that the Hebrew, though characterized by great simplicity, purity and richness of metaphorical expression, and oral sublimity, yet contains fewer words and less variety of significations than any other language? Do they know that its genius is primitive and radical, and of course not suited to an advanced state of civilization—that it possesses nothing of the compound construction and copiousness of later languages, and that all of its interest as a language of ideas is limited to the single Original of the Bible? Let it be studied by the Philologist, and by all whose pleasure and interest it is thoroughly to understand the fountain of their faith, but let it not be made to take the place of languages its superiors in almost all respects, except a religious one.

It is objected again sometimes that all the valuable knowledge of the ancients can be easily obtained through the medium of translations. Translations are inadequate to this end, and especially in works of poetry and art. The superior character of Greek and Latin in expression, conciseness, and artificial composition forbid, sometimes absolutely, any English version of their thoughts and images. Of all modern languages the

German is the only one which, from its peculiar compounding power, can approach their true spirit and meaning. Translations, in general, are weak and vapid compared with their originals. They are shadows of a substance—beams from the burning sun frozen through a prism of ice. Who would gaze on the mock flashes of the stage when he could see the “live lightning” leap across the sky? Who would heed tragic thunder, when he could hear the royal peal in the heavens? But we have neither time nor taste to examine further objections. They are generally frivolous, or inconclusive, and even if allowed any force, lose it the moment they are brought to weigh against the decided claims of Classical Literature.

It would be a delightful duty, in farther confirmation of the importance of the Study under consideration, to trace its general effect on the mind of Europe and America, since its revival, in all mental pursuits, and to illustrate its happy influence on individuals from the testimony of their own genius. To this source we might trace, in great part, that Mental Power, which, over Italy, Germany, Holland, France and England, guided by the tongue and pen momentous revolutions in opinion and belief. To this source we might trace, not in general allusion, as has been already done, but in illustrative detail, the arts, the inspiration and much of the *materiel* of great poetical works of modern times—to the green solitudes of Parnassus, and sunny fountains of Helicon and Pindus, and soft vales of Campania, we might follow in song and fable a Politiano, a Spencer and a Milton. To the revelations made by Classical Study we might trace the origin of political forms and prudential maxims which still continue powerfully to govern. To this source we might trace, even in Science, hints and rules and solutions of fundamental importance, and execution in some particulars which mocks modern comprehension and capacity. To this source, together with the impulse of religion, we might trace the origin of that spirit of inquiry and research, liberal and free, which pervades the heart of modern intellect and incites to the noblest action. But for this interesting examination, as well as for the explanation of the connection of Classical Study with other pursuits, much more time would be required than is consistent with my limits and a greater degree of patience than that with which it is proper for me to charge my audience.

I turn then from these topics to express, in conclusion, my sincere pleasure and hope in being chosen to fill the Department of Classical Literature in the College of South Carolina. Well has my lot fallen, here in the midst of a State, famed for its genius, its polish, its warm appreciation of worth, its sunny hospitality and generous relief. The gloomy tokens in the sky of her prosperity have disappeared, and an effulgence, bright and fervent as the hearts which welcome it after a night of storm, heralds the morning, we trust, of one perpetual day. In this period of relief from intense political anxiety, the State has turned anew to examine the foundation of her strength and to develop, by the increasing soundness of her education and the application of new literary stimulants, the magic of her intellect.

May her hopes in this respect be fully realised, and a harvest great and rich as any which ever adorned those Classic lands we have been treading awhile, yet repay her generous labors! May her youth engaged in Classical Education remember that their course, though laborious, is yet inspiring and most cheering in the rewards to which it leads—rewards rendered peculiarly certain to industry and faithfulness in a free country like our own—rewards such as publicly consist in the crown of statesmanship, the palm of eloquence, the wreath of Literature, and which privately are found in a life cheerfully meditative, and ambrosiate with the richness of Taste.

Is the Classical Student sometimes dispirited by his toilsome advance? We would repeat to him—courage! the obstacles can be surmounted. Gaze, from the rough ways where first you wander, gaze up the Steep of Knowledge. There are widening paths and glades of verdure, and alas, tombs. But start not at the gloom of this last spectacle. Those dead all encountered and overcame the difficulties which may at first sadden you. Behold a few monuments, and on spots of beauty! They tell of hope and ardor unwearied, but blasted by waste of body. Behold the careless heap of stones and the strewn sods! Those buried beneath were loiterers and cowardly, and “the grass above their graves fades not quicker than their memory.” But gaze higher still! There are the green arbor and the philosophic grove, the laurel-shaded fountains of

Pindus and the golden Hermus, where Contemplation draws her most sacred inspiration and repose—and around are the lofty pillars and stately mausoleums of the immortal Great and Good !

Tarry not then in the course. Interpose no check, nor incumbrance to the perfecting soul. Its energies are undying, and it is destined ever to expand and expand, “till the last rays of human intellect shall have illumined Eternity.”



ADDRESS

TO

THE STUDENTS

OF

THE SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE,

JANUARY 5TH, 1846,

BY HON. WM. C. PRESTON.

[PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE STUDENTS.]

COLUMBIA, S. C.
I. C. MORGAN'S LETTER PRESS PRINT.

1846



CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE HON. WM. C. PRESTON.

SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE, }
January 7, 1846. }

At a meeting of the Students in the College Chapel this evening, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to request of our Hon. President, a copy of his eloquent and appropriate Inaugural for publication."

Believing that your Address will be read by the public, with as much interest as was manifested during its delivery; and under the sure conviction that an address, abounding as it does, with so many able and instructive precepts, should not only be perused by every Student of College, but treasured up as a lasting memorial of the relation in which we stand to our President, we earnestly solicit your compliance with the above.

Very respectfully, yours,

R. H. REID,
JNO. RATCHFORD,
WM. LOGUE,
F. W. McMASTER,
F. GAMEWELL. } *Committee.*

SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE, }
January 8, 1846. }

Gentlemen:—I do not hesitate to comply with the request of the Students, which you have just communicated to me. Although their kindness places an estimate on the Address which my own judgment does not sanction, I am not the less grateful for it.

I beg you, gentlemen, to accept my thanks for the flattering terms in which you have discharged your office, and am,

Very respectfully,

Your ob't. serv't.,

WM. C. PRESTON.

To Messrs. REID,
RATCHFORD,
LOGUE,
McMASTER,
GAMEWELL, } *Committee.*





ADDRESS.

Young Gentlemen of the College:—

Entering upon the office to which the Trustees have appointed me, I have thought it not inappropriate to present myself to you, in a somewhat formal way, and to make a few remarks which the occasion seems to justify.

The intimate relations which are hereafter to subsist between us, involving very grave responsibilities on my part, and the deepest interests of life on yours, will be the more readily and efficiently established by an exposition of my understanding of our most prominent, respective duties, and of the feelings and purposes with which I now assume mine.

It has been the pleasure of the Trustees to call me from walks of life very remote from those I now enter upon. For many years, I have been busy amidst the active pursuits of men, taking some part in affairs where the conflict of interest, the collision of intellect, and the tumult of strenuous and stormy passions left but little leisure for those calm and meditative employments which are the occupation within these walls.

After thirty years absence from them, I return, but in a new and trying condition, with sympathies in all your pursuits, to be sure, and tastes not entirely alienated from science and literature, but with a deep and fearful anxiety, that I may, indeed must be, unqualified to discharge the trust as it ought to be. Under a conscious deficiency, I would have shrunk from this office, but that I yielded my own opinion to that of those for whose judgment, experience, and knowledge of the Institution, I have an entire deference. Of that Board of Trustees, whose command I obey, I can safely affirm, that having in the chances of life, been occasionally thrown with men,

distinguished by the consent of the whole country, I have not found anywhere, even in those exalted stations to which a nation's interests call its most conspicuous citizens, a wiser, graver, or more highly endowed body.

To its discretion and intelligence, the destinies of this cherished Institution are well confided, and I hold myself ready to conform to its wishes with the same implicit confidence, whenever it may think fit to remit me to the pursuits of private life, as now, that I relinquish those pursuits in compliance with them.

I have the more willingly acquiesced in their judgment, as it has been in favor of one who had differed with the State, on some important and exciting questions. To be made its trusted agent under such circumstances, to be put without solicitation, in this place of confidence and honour, in which the interests, the hopes, and the affections of the State are so deeply implicated, fills me with gratitude, and oppresses me with a painful sense of responsibility. In the swell of strong emotions which fill my heart, all vanity is quenched in the consciousness of inadequacy to make a suitable return.

What I bring, gentlemen, to my station, and what I trust may in some sort make amends for my deficiencies, in other respects is, a deep and reverential love for this my *Alma Mater*,—a solemn sense of my duties, and I may be permitted to say, a love of letters, not altogether extinguished by contact with the world. Nor am I insensible in adopting this course of life, to the pleasing satisfaction (as Cicero says,) of seeing myself surrounded by a circle of ingenuous youths, and conciliating by laudable means their esteem and affection. There certainly cannot be a more important or honorable occupation than to instruct the rising generation in the duties to which they may hereafter be called,*—and I hope I may, without the imputation of arrogance, be allowed to adopt another sentiment of that illustrious Roman:—

"Ac fuit quidem quam mihi quoque initium acquiescendi,

* De Senectute.

atque animum ad utriusque nostrum præclara studia referendi, fore justum et prope ab omnibus concessum arbitrare—si infinitus forensium rerum labor, et ambitionis occupatio, decursu honorem, etiam ætatis flexu, constitisset.”*

In the pleasing task to which I now address myself, it will be my constant effort to promote your studies, and to prepare you for the duties of life, (more important than life itself,) with such stores of learning as may be acquired here, but more especially with ardent and virtuous aspirations to acquit yourselves with honor hereafter.

The immediate and ostensible object of our association is the pursuit of learning, and this might seem to be our sole purpose; but in truth, learning is only a means to the great end we have in view. It is an instrument which is prepared and fashioned here, with some instruction as to the mode of using it. It is but the armour, but a part of the armour to be worn in the battle field of life for the achievement of honorable and glorious victories, for the triumph of truth over error, of virtue over vice, of right over wrong. And although I cherish the conviction that there is a natural and intimate connection between knowledge and virtue, yet I know that they are not inseparable. There have been melancholy instances of great intellectual powers, united to acquisitions from the whole circle of learning, without a corresponding moral elevation. These however, I regard as anomalies; I rejoice to believe that in the general order of Providence, whatever enlarges and exalts the intellect, promotes, purifies, and invigorates the virtues of the heart. If I did not believe in such a connexion, I would abandon myself to indolence and despair. But the noble and distinctive faculties of man, whose combination constitutes his dignity and glory, are harmonized by his Creator into a concerted action

* I have always soothed myself with the hope that there would come a time of quiet and repose, when I might return to the noble studies that occupy us here. I have fondly looked forward to the day, when having finished my career of active life, I might have the right to enjoy a lettered repose, freed from the toils of the bar and the painful pursuits of politics.—*De Oratore*.

for a common purpose. Whatever enlightens the mind improves the heart, as the sun which illuminates the atmosphere warms the earth, and although it may happen that his beams are reflected from fields of ice, yet his general mission is to call forth whatever is useful and beautiful, and impregnate with vitality the whole body of nature. (True knowledge is the knowledge of truth); as it is said in the fine arts, that nothing is beautiful but the true, so, in the wide signification of the word, it may be said that nothing is good but the true. To confer upon learning its just dignity and importance, it must be considered as subsidiary and auxiliary to the paramount ends of our being. It must always have in view our responsibilities in this life, and the awful responsibilities of a far more exceeding weight hereafter. You are to be made intellectual men, that you may be fit moral agents; so that as you advance in learning, you may advance in the knowledge and appreciation of virtue, remembering always that the lamp which you light up is not a gaudy show, to please by its variegated radiance, but is intended for a more useful and noble purpose, to show you, amidst the double night of error and of passion which obscures your journey through life, the only ways of pleasantness and paths of peace. Undoubtedly learning of itself is graceful and ornamental, and knowledge is power, but learning and knowledge attain their true beauty and full power only when united to virtue, and this union is ennobled, and, so to speak, sanctified by piety,—making the highest condition of our nature.—Learning,—morality,—religion,—these are your great objects. These, in the right understanding of them, include all that is desirable. They comprehend those lesser morals, the aggregate of which make a gentleman fitted to adorn and delight society,—they comprehend all those sentiments which become a citizen born to a participation in the government of the commonwealth, and all those deep convictions and lofty aspirations which belong to heirs of eternity. This is my conception of the object and purposes for which we are associated. If we can persuade you to entertain a corresponding

idea of your duties, our task will be an easy one. We shall be joint laborers in the same field, cheered by the sure prospect of a luxuriant harvest. This, our seed time, will be a season of hope and joy, while we look forward with eager and confident anticipation to the glories of a rich harvest, and still farther to the garnering of it where there is no rust, and thieves cannot break through nor steal.

But besides the ulterior and paramount value of the moral sentiments to which I have alluded, they are of immediate and vital consequence to us here. The good order and successful administration of the College, depend entirely upon their influences.

You have passed the period of coercion, and already are moral agents. In all communities laws avail but little without a prevailing sentiment to sustain and carry them out in their true spirit. "*Quid valeant leges sine moribus*," is true every where, but most emphatically true here; our government resolves itself almost entirely into an appeal to the sense of honor and duty, without which our laws are nugatory, and their impotent penalties carry no sanction. The fear of the law which prompts to a cold and reluctant observance of it, may secure from punishment, but as a principle of action, must always fail of any honorable success, and the government whose efficiency depends solely upon it, must fail in its main objects.

You cannot, young gentlemen,—you ought not to be governed by mere dint of law,—you must feel that there are other and higher rules than it imposes,—indeed other and higher laws than are to be found in our statutes,—laws in your own bosoms, written on your hearts,—the penalty for disobedience to which, is the consciousness of wrong,—and the reward of obedience, the consciousness of right.

It may, and perhaps must be necessary, wherever human nature is to be governed, to invoke the interposition of the law,—but our habitual and by far most pleasant, and as we hope, most efficient appeal, will be to your honor and sense of right.

We do not indulge the chimerical expectation that a moral

discipline can be so far enforced as to supercede an occasional application of penal laws. Our observation of life permits no such hope, for in no association whatever,—not senates or councils, can be regulated by the mere discretion of the members,—much less can it be expected from the thoughtlessness and passions of the young. Acts of discipline must occur, and when the occasion requires them, they will be firmly and promptly applied,—but what we do calculate on, is the prevalence of a pervading sentiment, that will render such a necessity infrequent,—a sentiment which will inspire more fear of offence than of punishment.

The impulsiveness and impatience belonging to your time of life, naturally make the degree of exertion and industry requisite to your proper advancement, irksome and painful to you. Indolence presents herself to the young,—aye! and to the old,—in a thousand seducing forms. Industry is of a harsh and crabbed aspect. The one seems to point to a smooth and flowery path,—the other to a rugged and painful ascent,—but around that seducing path lurk all the ills of life,—and that toilsome ascent, at every step opens wider and wider a broad and beautiful prospect, and leads eventually to those elevations to which the noble spirit aspires.

Industry is the prolific mother of many virtues. She produces as well as sustains them,—they all cluster around and nestle about her, growing and strengthening by her care. Genius itself, that divine quality which seems to be instinct with innate power, and to rise by its own upward tendency,—genius itself, is plumed for its highest flights, and trained to them by industry. It is an utter mistake to imagine that any endowment can dispense with labour. It is a fatal error into which young men fall,—no great achievement ever has or ever can be effected without it,—the mode of its application may be obscure, but its presence is not the less certain. We have heard of the forest-born Demosthenes,—“of nature’s darling,”—

“Fancy’s child,
Warbling his native wood notes wild,”—

“of the blind old man of Scio’s rocky isle.” These were men of genius, unquestionably,—but Henry, and Shakspeare, and Homer, were also men of labor,—they had the blessing of inspiration, but the blessing came to them after they had wrestled all night.

Our intercourse, I trust, will be characterized by the courtesy becoming gentlemen. My government I hope will be animated by the vigilance and tempered by the affection of a parent. If I see you preparing yourselves to go home to delight a father’s heart, my bosom will swell with a parent’s pride, and my vanity will be gratified if your proficiency authorizes me to believe that when the State shall hereafter point to its jewels, I may say I helped to fashion them.

I trust also, gentlemen, that both our official and social relations, may be such, that when you go into the world, and ascertain by experience the value of the lessons taught here, you will remember the College with affection, and me with no indifferent feelings, and meet me, when the chances of life throw us together, not without emotion.

Young gentlemen, if I were better qualified than I am for this office, I know how vain my efforts must be, even with the assistance of my able colleagues and your zealous co-operation, without the gracious protection and help of our Heavenly Father. To Him, then, and to His beneficent providence, I humbly and earnestly commend the issue of this undertaking.

LETTER

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR MANNING

ON

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

IN

SOUTH CAROLINA.



COLUMBIA, S. C.:

R. W. GIBBES & CO., STATE PRINTERS.

1853.





LETTER TO GOV. MANNING.

SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE,
November, 1853.

To His Excellency Governor Manning :

I ask the favour of presenting to your Excellency a few reflections upon the subject of Public Instruction in South Carolina. As I feel that I am addressing one whose interest and zeal in the prosperity of letters will induce him to weigh with candour, to estimate with charity, and even to invest with disproportionate value, the crudest hints which spring from the desire to increase the educational facilities of the State, I shall dismiss all apprehensions of being suspected of an officious obtrusion upon your notice. You are the man, above all others, to whom the head of this Institution should look with confidence, to give fresh impulse to the general cause of education ; and you will excuse me for saying, that if the suggestions which shall fall from me, or the maturer recommendations which shall come from yourself, shall terminate auspiciously to the wishes of us both, there will be furnished a beautiful instance of Providential retribution, in connecting the name of the first conspicuous benefactor of the South Carolina College with the establishment of an adequate system of common schools. A proud distinction in itself to be the friend and patron of learning, the honour is increased in your case, in that it has been pre-eminently your care, in its higher and lower culture, to dispense its blessings to the poor. Apart from fellowship with God, there cannot be a sweeter satisfaction than that which arises from the consciousness of being a father to the fatherless ; and if the ends which, I know, are dear to your heart can only be achieved, every indigent child in the State, looking upon *you* as its real father, may address you in the modest and glowing terms which the genius of Milton has canonized, as fit expressions of gratitude for the noblest of all gifts.

*At tibi, chare pater, postquam non æqua merenti
 Posse referre datur, nec dona rependere factis,
 Sit memorasse satis, repetitaque munera grato
 Percensere animo, fidæque reponere menti.*

I am not insensible to the dangers and difficulties which attend the discussion of this subject. It is so seductive to the fancy that the temptation is almost irresistible to indulge in schemes and visionary projects. In the effort to realize the conception of a perfect education, we are apt to forget that there is no such thing as absolute perfection in the matter, that all excellence is relative, and that the highest recommendation of any plan is that it is at once practicable and adjusted to the wants and condition of those for whom it is provided. A system of public instruction, like the form of government, must spring from the manners, maxims, habits and associations of the people. It must penetrate their character, constitute an element of their national existence, be a portion of themselves, if it would not be suspected as an alien, or distrusted as a spy. The success of the Prussian scheme is ascribed by Cousin to the circumstance, that it existed in the manners and customs of the country before it was enacted into law. It was not a foreign graft, but the natural offshoot of popular opinion and practice. It is an easy thing to construct a theory, when nothing is to be done but to trace the coherences and dependencies of thought; but it is not so easy to make thought correspond to reality, or to devise a plan which shall overlook none of the difficulties and obstructions in the way of successful application. In the suggestions which I have to offer, I shall endeavour to keep steadily in view the real wants of the citizens of this Commonwealth, and avoiding all crotchets and metaphysical abstractions, shall aim exclusively at what experience, or the nature of the case, demonstrates to be practicable. I have no new principles to ventilate, but I shall think myself happy if I can succeed in setting in a clearer light, or vindicating from prejudice and misconstruction, the principles which have already been embodied in our laws. It is, perhaps, not generally known that the legislation of South Carolina contemplates a scheme of public instruction as perfect in its conception of the end, as it is defective in its provision of the means. The order, too, in which the attention of the Legislature has been turned to the various branches of the subject, though not the most popular or the most obvious, is precisely the order of their relative importance. It began where it ought to have begun, but unfortunately stopped where it ought not to have stopped. To defend what it has already done and stimulate it to repentance for what it has not done, is the principal motive of this communication.

Permit me, in pursuance of this design, to direct the attention of your Excellency to the nature, operation and defects of the system

among us. This system consists of the South Carolina College, established in 1801, of the Free Schools, established in 1811, and of the Arsenal and Citadel Academies, which have crept into existence by the connivance, without any statute, of the Legislature, defining their end and aim. This series of institutions is evidently adjusted without, perhaps, any conscious purpose of doing so, to the three-fold division of education, in so far as it depends upon instruction, into liberal, elementary and professional. The College is to furnish the means of liberal, the Free Schools of elementary, and the Arsenal and Citadel Academies of that department of professional education which looks to the arts of practical life, especially those of the soldier. For the liberal or learned professions, those of law, physic and divinity, no provision has been made. The College undertakes to give the same kind of instruction which is given by the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy in the Universities of Europe. Our Military Academies, with a slight change in their organization, might be converted into scientific schools; and free schools are, or were designed to be, substantially the same as the elementary and grammar schools of England. The scheme, as here developed, though far from fulfilling the logical requirements of a complete system of public instruction, is amply sufficient, if adequately carried out, to meet the real wants of our people. The kind and degree of education, for which there is any serious or extensive demand, is what is provided for.

✓ To make the system logically complete, there would have to be a succession of institutions, individually perfect, and yet harmoniously coöperating to a general result, which, taking the man at the very dawn of his powers, shall be able to carry him up to the highest point of their expansion, and fit him for any employment in which intelligence and thought are the conditions of success. It should supply the means to every individual in the community of becoming trained and prepared for his own peculiar destiny—it should overlook no class—it should neglect no pursuit. It may be doubted whether a scheme so comprehensive in its plan is desirable—it is quite certain that it is not practicable. The Legislature has done wisely in confining its arrangements to liberal and elementary education. It has aimed, by a preliminary discipline, to put the individual in a condition to educate himself for the business of his life, except where his calling involves an application of scientific knowledge which does not enter into the curriculum of general instruction. In that case it has made a special provision. I see then no improvement that can be made in the general features of our scheme—it is as perfect in its conception as the wants and condition of our people will justify. All that the Legislature should aim at is the adjustment of the details, and the better adaptation of them to the end in view.

I. The first in the order of establishment, as well as the first in the order of importance, is the COLLEGE. Devoted to the interests of general, in

contradistinction from professional education, its design is to cultivate the mind without reference to any ulterior pursuits. "The student is considered as an end to himself; his perfection, as a man simply, being the aim of his education." The culture of the mind, however, for itself, contributes to its perfection as an instrument, so that general education, while it directly prepares and qualifies for no special destination, indirectly trains for every vocation in which success is dependent upon intellectual exertion. It has taught the mind the use of its powers, and imparted those habits without which its powers would be useless. It makes MEN, and consequently promotes every enterprise in which men are to act.

General education being the design of a College, the fundamental principles of its organization are easily deduced.

1. The selection of studies must be made, not with reference to the comparative importance of their matter, or the practical value of the knowledge, but with reference to their influence in unfolding and strengthening the powers of the mind; as the end is to improve mind, the fitness for the end is the prime consideration. "As knowledge," says Sir Wm. Hamilton, * "(man being now considered as an end to himself,) is only valuable as it exercises, and by exercise, develops and invigorates the mind; so a university, in its liberal faculty, should especially prefer those objects of study which call forth the strongest and most unexclusive energy of thought, and so teach them too, that this energy shall be most fully elicited in the student. For speculative knowledge, of whatever kind, is only profitable to the student, in his liberal cultivation, inasmuch as it supplies him with the object and occasion of exerting his faculties; since powers are only developed in proportion as they are exercised; that is, put forth into energy. The mere possession of scientific truths is, for its own sake, valueless; and education is only education, inasmuch as it at once determines and enables the student to educate himself." Hence the introduction of studies upon the ground of their practical utility is, *pro tanto*, subversive of the College. It is not its office to make planters, mechanics, lawyers, physicians or divines. It has nothing directly to do with the uses of knowledge. Its business is with minds, and it employs science only as an instrument for the improvement and perfection of mind. With it the habit of sound thinking is more than a thousand thoughts. When, therefore, the question is asked, as it often is asked by ignorance and empiricism, what is the use of certain departments of the College curriculum, the answer should turn, not upon the benefits which, in after life, may be reaped from these pursuits, but upon their immediate subjective influence upon the cultivation of the human faculties. They are selected in preference to others, because they better train the mind. It cannot be too earnestly

* Discussions on Philosophy, &c., p. 677.

inculcated that knowledge is not the principal end of College instruction, but habits. The acquisition of knowledge is the necessary result of those exercises which terminate in habits, and the maturity of the habit is measured by the degree and accuracy of the knowledge. But still the habits are the main thing.

2. In the next place it is equally important that the whole course of studies be rigidly exacted of every student. Their value as a discipline depends altogether upon their *being* studied, and every college is defective in its arrangements which fails to secure, as far as legislation can secure it, this indispensable condition of success. Whatever may be the case in Europe, it is found from experience in this country, that nothing will avail without the authority of law. The curriculum must be compulsory, or the majority of students will neglect it. All must be subjected to catechetical examinations in the lecture room, and all must undergo the regular examinations of their classes, as the condition of their residence in College. The moment they are exempted from the stringency of this rule, all other means lose their power upon the mass of pupils. Much may be accomplished by rewards, and by stimulating the spirit of competition, and great reliance should be placed upon them to secure a high standard of attainment; but in most men, the love of ease is stronger than ambition, and indolence a greater luxury than thought. "For, whilst mental effort is the one condition of all mental improvement, yet this effort is at first and for a time painful; positively painful, in proportion as it is intense, and comparatively painful, as it abstracts from other and positively pleasurable activities. It is painful because its energy is imperfect, difficult, forced. But, as the effort is gradually perfected, gradually facilitated, it becomes gradually pleasing; and when, finally perfected, that is, when the power is fully developed, and the effort changed into a spontaneity, becomes an exertion absolutely easy, it remains purely, intensely and alone unsatiably pleasurable. For pleasure is nothing but the concomitant or reflex of the unforced and unimpeded energy of a natural faculty or acquired habit; the degree and permanence of pleasure being also in proportion to the intensity and purity of the mental energy. The great postulate in education is, therefore, to induce the pupil to enter and persevere in such a course of effort, good in its result and delectable, but primarily and in itself irksome." * The argument of necessity helps to reconcile him to the weariness of study—what he feels that he must do he will endeavor to do with grace, and as there is no alternative, he will be more open to the generous and manly influences which the rewards and distinctions of the College are suited to exert. There are always causes at work, apart from the repulsiveness of intellectual labour, to seduce the student from his books; and

* Hamilton's Discussions, p. 676.

before his habits are yet formed and the love of study grounded into his nature, it is of the utmost consequence to keep these causes in check. No other motives will be sufficient without the compulsion of law. Co-operating with this, there are many others which, if they do not positively sweeten his toil, may help to mitigate the agony of thought.

I have insisted upon this point, because it is the point in regard to which the most dangerous innovations are to be apprehended. Two changes have at different times been proposed, one of which would be absolutely fatal, and the other seriously detrimental, to the interests of the College as a place of liberal education. The first is to convert it into a collection of independent schools, each of which shall be complete in itself, it being left to the choice of the student what schools he shall enter. The other is to remit the obligation of the whole course in reference to a certain class of students, and allow them to pursue such parts of it as they may choose. In relation to the first, young men are incompetent to pronounce beforehand what studies are subjectively the most beneficial. It requires those who have experienced the disciplinary power of different studies to determine their relative value. Only a scholar can say what will make a scholar. The experience of the world has settled down upon a certain class and order of studies, and the verdict of ages and generations is not to be set aside by the caprices, whims or prejudices of those who are not even able to comprehend the main end of education. In the next place, if our undergraduates were competent to form a judgment, their natural love of indolence and ease would, in the majority of cases, lead them to exclude those very studies which are the most improving, precisely because they are so; that is, because, in themselves and in the method of teaching them, they involve a degree and intensity of mental exercise, which is positively painful. Self-denial is not natural to man; and he manifests but little acquaintance with human nature, who presumes as a matter of course, that he will choose what the judgment commends. *Video meliora proboque deteriora sequor*, is more preëminently true of the young than the old. They are the creatures of impulse. Permit them to select their own studies, and the majority will select those that are thought to be the easiest. The principle of choice will be the very opposite of that upon which the efficiency of a study depends. Experience is decisive on this point. What creates more trouble in the interior management of our Colleges than the constant desire of the pupils to evade recitation? And is it not universally found that the Departments which are the most popular, are those which least task the energies of the student? I do not say that the Professors who fill these Departments are themselves most respected. That will depend upon their merits, and in matters of this sort the judgments of the young are generally right. But easy exercises are preferred, simply because they do not

tax the mind. The practical problem with the mass of students is—the least work and easiest done. Is it easy, is it short, these are the questions which are first asked about a lesson. I must, therefore, consider any attempt to relax the compulsory feature of the College course, as an infallible expedient for degrading education. The College will cease to *train*. It may be a place for literary triflers, but a place for students it cannot be.

There is much in a name, and the change here condemned is delusively sought to be insinuated under the pretext of converting the College into a University. This latter title sounds more imposingly, and carries the appearance of greater dignity. But the truth is, there is hardly a more equivocal word in the language. "In its proper and original meaning," as Sir Wm. Hamilton* has satisfactorily shown, "it denotes simply the *whole members of a body, (generally incorporated body,) of persons teaching and learning one or more departments of knowledge.*" In its ordinary acceptance in this country it is either synonymous with College, as an institution of higher education—and in this sense we are already a University—or it denotes a College with Professional schools attached. It is clear, however, that the introduction of the Faculties of Law, Medicine and Theology, necessitates no change in the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts. It is not necessary to make general education voluntary, in order to provide for professional instruction. There is consequently nothing in the name, or in the nature of the case, which demands a fundamental change in the system, in order that the South Carolina College may become the South Carolina University. For myself, I am content with our present title, and if it

* Discussions, p. 479. To the quotation in the text may be added the following passage from the same page: "The word *universitas*, in the common language of Rome, is equally applicable to *persons* and to *things*. In the technical language of the civil law, it was, in like manner, applied to both. In the former signification, (convertible with *collegium*,) it denoted a plurality of persons associated for a continued purpose, and may be inadequately rendered by *society, company, corporation*; in the latter, it denoted a certain totality of individual things, constituted either by the mutual relation to a certain common end, (*universitas facti*,) or by a mere legal fiction, (*universitas juris*.) In the language of the middle ages, it was applied either loosely to any understood class of persons, or strictly (in the acceptance of the Roman law) to a public incorporation, more especially (as equivalent with *communitas*) to the members of a municipality, or to the members of a "general study." In this last application it was, however, not uniformly of the same amount; and its meaning was, for a considerable period, determined by the words with which it was connected. Thus it was used to denote either (and this was its more usual meaning) the whole body of teachers and learners, or the whole body of learners, or the whole body of teachers and learners, divided either by faculty or by country, or by both together. But no one instance can, we are confident, be adduced, in which (we mean until its original and proper signification had been forgotten) it is employed for a school teaching, or privileged to teach, and grant degrees, in all the faculties."

promises less, I am sure that it will accomplish more, than the new title with the corresponding change. As to the expediency of adding the Faculties of Law and Medicine (Theology is out of the question) to the present organization, I have only to say, that it will multiply and complicate the difficulties of the internal management of the Institution, without securing any increased proficiency in these departments of knowledge; that is, if there is to be any real connection between the Faculty of Arts and those of Law and Medicine. I dread the experiment.] I think it better that the Professions should be left to provide for themselves, than that a multitude of inexperienced young men should be brought together, many of whom are comparatively free from the restraints of discipline, and yet have an easy and ready access to those who are more under law. The very liberty of the resident would be a temptation to the under-graduates. I have no objection, however, to the founding of Professional Schools by the State. All that I am anxious for is that they should not be so connected with the College as that the members of all the schools should reside together. To be under a common government is impossible, to be under a different government would breed interminable confusion and disorder. That sort of nominal connection which requires that all medical and law degrees should be conferred by the authorities of the College, and which is perfectly consistent with the law and medical schools being established in a different place, would, of course, be harmless. But this difficulty might arise; the College would be unwilling to confer *any* degree without a liberal education—it could not, without abjuring the very principles of its existence, grant its honours upon mere professional attainment.

With respect to the other change, that of allowing students, under certain circumstances, to pursue a partial course, it is evidently contradictory to the fundamental end of the College. These students are not seeking knowledge for the sake of discipline, but with reference to ulterior uses. They come not to be trained to *think*, but to learn to act in definite departments of exertion. It is *professional*, not *liberal* education which they want. The want I acknowledge ought to be gratified—it is a demand which should be supplied. But the College is not the place to do it. That was founded for *other* purposes, and it is simply preposterous to abrogate its constitution out of concessions to a necessity, because the necessity happens to be real. What, therefore, ought to be done is not to change the nature of the College, but, leaving that untouched to do its own work, to organize schools with special reference to this class of wants. We have the elements of such an organization in the Arsenal and Citadel Academies. Let these be converted into seminaries of special education—which will only be an extension of their present plan—and they will form that intermediate class of schools betwixt the elementary and the College, which the circumstances of every

civilized community, in proportion to the complication of its interests, demand.

These changes in the College have been favoured on the ground that they will increase its numbers. But the success of the College is not to be estimated by the numbers in attendance, but by the numbers educated. It should never include more than those who are seeking a liberal education, and if it includes all of these, whether they be fifty or two hundred, it is doing the whole of its appropriate work. No doubt, by the changes in question, our catalogue might be increased two or three fold, but we should not educate a single individual more than we educate now. Numbers in themselves are nothing, unless they represent those who are really devoted to the business of the place. What real advantage would it be to have four or five hundred pupils matriculated here, if some remained only a few months, others remained longer in idleness, and out of the whole number, only four or five applied for a degree. That four or five would be the true criterion of success. The real question, I insist, is how many graduate. That is the decisive point. As long as we receive the whole number of young men in the State, who are to be liberally educated, whether that number be greater or smaller, we are doing all that we were appointed to do, or that we can be legitimately expected to do; and a decline in numbers is not a necessary proof of the declension of the College, it may be only a proof that the demand is ceasing for higher instruction. The work, however, to be done loses none of its importance in consequence of the failure to appreciate its value; and the remedy is not to give it up and yield to empirical innovations, but to persevere, in faith and patience, relying upon time as the great teacher of wisdom.

3. Another cardinal principle in the organization of the College is the independence of its teachers. They should be raised above all temptation of catering for popularity, of degrading the standard of education for the sake of the loaves and fishes. They should be prepared to officiate as Priests in the temple of learning, in pure vestments, and with hands unstained with a bribe. It has been suggested that if the stipends of the Professors were made dependent upon the number of pupils, the strong motive of personal interest, added to the higher incentives which they are expected to feel, would increase their efficiency, by stimulating their zeal and activity. They would be anxious to achieve a reputation for the College which would enable it to command students. This argument proceeds upon a hypothesis which, I am ashamed to say, my own experience pronounces to be false. In the state of things in this country there is a constant conflict between the government of the College and the candidates for its privileges, the one attempting to raise, and the other to lower, the standard of admission, and every effort of the Faculty in the right direction is met with a determined

resistance. It is not to be presumed that young men, at the age of our undergraduates generally, should have any steady and precise notions of the nature of education. A College is a College, and when they are debating the question, whither they shall go, the most important items in the calculation are, not the efficiency, but the cheapness of the place, and the shortness of the time within which a degree may be obtained. The consequence is that no College can resist the current, unless its teachers are independent. In that case they may stand their ground—and though they can never hope to equal feeble institutions in numbers, they will still accomplish a great work, and confer a lasting benefit on society. The South Carolina College has raised her standard. She has proclaimed her purpose to be, **TO EDUCATE WELL**, and I should deplore any measure that might remotely tend to drive her from this position. The true security for the ability of the professorial corps is not to be sought in starving them, or in making them scramble for a livelihood, but in the competency, zeal and integrity of the body that appoints them, and in the strict responsibility to which they are held. An impartial Board of overseers, to elect faithful and turn out incompetent men, a Board that has the nerve to do its duty, will be a stronger check upon indolence and inefficiency, than an empty larder. The motive of necessity may lead them to degrade instruction to increase their fees; the motive of responsibility to a body that can appreciate their labours, will always operate in the right direction.

"Let this ground, therefore," says Bacon, * "be laid that all works are overcome by amplitude of reward, by soundness of direction, and by the conjunction of labours. The first multiplieth endeavour, the second preventeth error, and the third supplieth the frailty of man. But the principal of these is direction." So far as the undergraduates are concerned I think that all these conditions of success are measurably fulfilled in the present arrangements of the College; as much so as the general state of education will allow. No changes in this respect are desirable. But the interests of higher education demand something more than that culture "in passage," as Bacon expresses it, which is all that is contemplated in provisions for undergraduates. Our work stops with the degree. We have no foundations upon which scholars may be placed, "tending to quietness and privateness of life, and discharge of cares and troubles." We are wanting in facilities for "conjunctions" of learned men; and consequently the only persons whose business it is to keep pace with the higher intelligence of the age, are the few professors who are employed in the work of instruction. With only such means we must fall behind in the march of improvement. There must be more competition, more leisure, more freedom from distracting cares.

* Bacon's Works, vol. 2nd. p. 90. Montagu's Edition.

"This I take to be," says the great writer from whom I love to quote*: "a great cause that hath hindered the profession of learning, because these fundamental knowledges have been studied but in passage. For if you will have a tree bear more fruit than it hath used to do, it is not any thing you can do to the boughs, but it is the stirring of the earth, and putting new mould about the roots, that must work it."

I do not look to the Legislature to supply this deficiency. Other demands more immediate and urgent must first be met, and to meet them adequately will make a heavy draft upon its resources. But I do look to *private liberality*. Many of the foundations in Oxford and Cambridge have arisen from this source. The Northern Colleges are indebted for the largest part of their funds to the same cause. Why should not some portion of the Southern wealth take the same direction? Are we wanting in the love of knowledge, in the spirit of charity, and in zeal for the honour and prosperity of the State? I cannot account for the remissness and apathy of our rich planters and merchants, and professional men, in any other way, than that this form of generosity has not been the habit of the country. I had hoped that your example, and the example of Col. Hampton would have given an impetus to this matter, and I shall not despair until I see the result of the festival which is proposed to be celebrated in honour of the 50th anniversary of the College. A body of learned men, devoted to the pursuit of fundamental knowledges, is what more than every thing else is now needed, to complete our system. There is wealth enough in private coffers, and liberality enough in the hearts of our citizens, to supply the want, if public interest could only be elicited in the subject. There prevails an impression that the annual appropriations of the Legislature are amply sufficient for *all* the ends of a College—it is forgotten that these appropriations contemplate it entirely as a place of teaching, and not the residence of scholars. In this latter aspect we are wholly dependent upon private generosity.

The advantages to the College, and to the State, and to the whole country, of such a body of resident scholars cannot be estimated. They might, in various ways, assist in the business of discipline and instruction—they would furnish a constant supply of materials for new professors—they would give tone and impulse to the aspirations and efforts of the young men gathered around them, and diffuse an influence, which, silently and imperceptibly concurring in the formation of that powerful and mysterious combination of separate elements called public opinion, would tell upon every hamlet in the land. "For, if men judge that learning should be referred to action, they judge well; but in this they fall into the error described in the ancient fable; in which the other parts of the body did suppose the

* Bacon's Works, vol. 2nd, p. 98. Montagu's Edition.

stomach had been idle, because it neither performed the office of motion, as the limbs do, nor of sense, as the head doth; but yet, notwithstanding, it is the stomach that digesteth and distributeth to all the rest; so if any man think philosophy and universality to be idle studies, he doth not consider that all professions are from thence served and supplied."* This homely illustration sets the question of utility in its true light, and if I could impress upon the community, as it exists in my own mind, the deep and earnest sense of the importance of this feature in the organization of the College, the lack of means would soon cease to be an impediment in keeping pace with the highest culture of the age. It would soon be found that wealth has no more tendency to contract the mind in South Carolina, than in Massachusetts and New York, and that there are merchant princes in Charleston as well as in Boston. Who will begin the work? Who shall set the first example of a foundation of ten or twenty thousand dollars, devoted to the support of genius in reflecting light and glory upon the State? It is devoutly to be hoped that something more substantial than echo will answer who.

But as there are those who admit, in general, the advantages of a high standard of liberal education, and the consequent importance of such institutions as the College, and yet doubt the wisdom of the policy which directly connects them with the State, a more distinct consideration of this question will not be out of place here. The grounds of doubt are twofold.

1. The College, it is said, is for the benefit of the few, and therefore, should not be supported by the taxes of the many—what comes from all should be for all. What is for a class should be by a class. This is the substance of the clamour, by which, ignorance and vulgar ambition, and above all, a pretended regard for the rights and interests of the masses, are constantly endeavoring to steal away the hearts of the people from what, justly considered, is the bulwark of their liberties, and the strongest safeguard of their honour and respectability. Hence the cry that the College is an aristocratic institution; a resort for the rich, exclusive of the poor.

The other ground is, that education, in its very nature, belongs to the church, or to private enterprise—that it includes elements which lie beyond the jurisdiction of the State, and that, therefore, the State has no right to interfere with it. These objections, I think, embody the strength of whatever opposition is expressed or felt to the College as a public foundation.

In reference to the first, let it be admitted that the number of those who participate in the privileges of the College is, and must necessarily be, limited. It is, of course, impracticable, even if it were desirable, that *every* young man in the State should receive a liberal education. Some must be

*Bacon's Works, vol 2, p. 98, Montagu's Edit.

excluded. The very notion of their being excluded implies that they do not share in the immediate advantages of the College. But then the question arises, what is the *principle* of exclusion, so far as the College is concerned? If that principle is directly based upon difference in fortune, then there is ground of complaint; otherwise none. Does the College reject any *because* they are poor; does it *admit* any *because* they are rich? Does it recognize any distinction between rich and poor? Who will venture upon such an allegation? And yet it is only by making wealth the ground of admission, and poverty the ground of exclusion, that the College can be justly charged with aristocratic tendencies. It is notorious that the only question which the College asks, as the qualification for admission to its immunities, is in relation to the fitness of the candidates to enter upon its pursuits. All who are prepared to comply with its requisitions are welcome to its halls, whether rich or poor. Poverty may, indeed, be a remote and accidental cause of exclusion, as it incapacitates for acquiring the fitness which the College exacts, and which is absolutely indispensable to the ends it has in view. But in these cases, it is not the *poverty* which the College considers, but the *ignorance* and want of preparatory training. There are also *expenses* incident to a College course which put it out of the power of those who are absolutely without funds to pursue it. A man must be fed and clothed and warmed; and the comforts of life do not usually come without money; and if he cannot afford the necessary expenses himself, and his friends will not afford them for him, all that can be said is, that Providence has cut him off from a liberal education. He is not in a condition to reap the advantages of personal residence within the College walls. But the principle of exclusion, so far as the College is concerned, is not a class principle, but one which necessarily results from the nature and end of its institution. It is founded exclusively for a certain kind and degree of education, and it opens its doors to all, without exception, who are prepared for its instructions, and can sustain the expenses necessarily incident to a residence from home. It shuts its doors upon none, but upon those who hut them upon themselves, or against whom Providence has closed them.

a free College means a College absolutely without expense, we must wait for the realization of such a dream until the manifestation of that state in which our bodies shall cease to be flesh and blood, and such homely articles as food, raiment and fuel, be no longer needed. But if an institution is not, *ipso facto*, aristocratic, because the members of it have to pay for their victuals and clothes, then the South Carolina College is not an aristocratic or class institution. It might not be improper to inquire whether in those institutions, whose glory it is to be par eminence institutions for the vulgar, it is pretended that the pupils have absolutely nothing to pay. Can a stark beggar get through them without help? If not, poverty and wealth have

the same remote and indirect influence in determining who shall participate in their privileges, as they have in the South Carolina College.

From a somewhat careful inquiry, too, I am inclined to the opinion, that none, however poor, ever fail to get through College, who have been enabled, either by their own exertions or the assistance of others, to prepare for College. I am sure the number is very small. Hence of all charges that the imagination can conceive, that of educating only the rich is the most idle and ridiculous. Most of our students, as a matter of fact, are from families in moderate circumstances; many are absolutely poor, either expending their whole living upon their minds, or toiling in vacations to acquire the means of defraying their expenses, or sustained by the eleemosynary foundations of the College, or by the assistance of the College Societies, or by private liberality. The public sentiment of the students speaks volumes upon this point. If there were anything in the genius or organization of the Institution which distinguished it as the College of the *rich*, there would be a corresponding pride of aristocracy among the young men, and the poor would be avoided, insulted or shunned as a *profaunum vulgus*. They would be branded by public opinion as men who were out of their place; as upstarts, who were aspiring to the privileges of their betters. This would be necessitated as the common feeling by the organic principle of the body. But what is the truth? I have no hesitation in affirming, that if there be a place more than any other where the poor are honoured and respected, where indigence, if coupled with any degree of merit, is an infallible passport to favour, that place is the South Carolina College. It may be pre-eminently called the poor man's College in the sense that poverty is no reproach within its walls—no bar to its highest honours and most tempting rewards, either among professors or students. On the contrary, if there is a prejudice at all, it is against the rich; and from long observation and experience, I am prepared to affirm, that no spirit receives a sterner, stronger, more indignant rebuke within these walls than the pride and vanity of wealth. Let any young man presume upon his fortune and undertake to put on airs, and the whole College pounces down upon him with as little mercy and as much avidity, as the jackdaws in the fable, upon their aspiring fellow, who was decked in the peacock's feathers.

No doubt there are many whose circumstances preclude them from the first steps of a liberal education, and who, yet, have the capacity to receive it, and who, if educated, might reflect lasting honour upon the State. But, unfortunately, from the imperfect and inefficient condition of the free schools, these poor children can never be distinguished. One advantage of a more adequate scheme of public instruction will be that of bringing indigent merit to the light. For such cases there ought to be the most ample provision. "This," in the words of Cousin, "is a sacred duty we owe to

talent—a duty which must be fulfilled, even at the risk of being sometimes mistaken.” The State should either endow scholarships, or extemporize appropriations to meet the cases of those who, when public schools shall have been established, shall be reported as worthy of a liberal education by their earlier teachers. And beyond this, as the same writer observes, it is not desirable that it should provide for the higher instruction of the poor.

So much for the limitation of the immediate benefits of the College. They *are* confined to comparatively a few, simply because it is comparatively a few that are in a condition to receive them. But then the important point is—and it is a point which ought never to be forgotten, though it is systematically overlooked by those who are accustomed to decry the College—that these benefits are imparted, not for the sake of the few, but for the interest of the many—the good of the State at large. Those who are educated, are educated not for themselves, but for the advantage of the Commonwealth as a whole. Every scholar is regarded as a blessing—a great public benefit—and for the sake of the general influence that he is qualified to exert, the State makes provisions for his training. It is because “the proper education of youth contributes greatly to the prosperity of society,” that it “ought to be an object of legislative attention.” The many, therefore, are not taxed for the few, but the few are trained for exalted usefulness and extensive good to the many. If the Legislature had in view only the interests of those who are educated, and expended its funds in reference to their good, considered simply as individuals, there would be just ground of complaint; but when it is really aiming at the prosperity of the whole community, and uses these individuals as means to an end, there is nothing limited or partial in its measures. It is great weakness to suppose that nothing can contribute to the general good, the immediate ends of which are not realized in the case of every individual. Are light houses constructed only for the safety of the benighted mariners who may be actually guided by their lamps? or are they reared for the security of navigation, the interests of commerce, and through these, the interests of society at large.

There is no way of evading the force of this argument but by flatly denying that an educated class is a public good. If there are any among us who are prepared to take this ground, and to become open advocates of barbarism, I have nothing to say to them; but, for the sake of those who may be seduced by a sophistry which they cannot disentangle, I offer a few reflections.

In the first place, the educated men, in every community, are the real elements of steady and consistent progress. They are generally in advance of their generation; light descends from them to their inferiors, and by a gradual and imperceptible influence emanating from the solitary speculations, it

may be, of their secret hours, the whole texture of society is modified, a wider scope is given to its views and a loftier end to its measures. They are the men who sustain and carry forward the complicated movements of a refined civilization—the real authors of the changes which constitute epochs in the social elevation of the race. Pitt could not understand, and Fox refused to read the masterly speculations of Adam Smith upon the *Wealth of Nations*. He was ahead of his age. The truth gradually worked its way, however, into the minds of statesmen and legislators, and now, no one is held to be fit for any public employment, who is not imbued with the principles of Political Economy. The thoughts of a retired thinker, once set in motion, if they have truth in them, have a principle of life which can never be extinguished—they may, for a season, be repressed and confined, but they, finally, like disengaged gases, acquire an intensity and power which defy all opposition. They spread through society, leavening first its leading members, and extending in the shape of results, or maxims, or practical conclusions, to every fireside in the land. The solitary scholar wields a lever which raises the whole mass of society. It is a high general education which shapes the minds and controls the opinions of the guiding spirits of the age; it is this which keeps up the general tone of society—it is at once conservative and progressive.

The conservative tendency requires to be a little more distinctly pointed out. The case is this—the universal activity which general intelligence imparts to mind, must be prolific in schemes and theories, and these are likely to be sound or hurtful, according to the completeness of the inductions or the narrowness of the views, on which they are founded. A half truth, or a truth partially apprehended, always has the effect of a lie. A high order of culture, with occasional exceptions, (for profound thinkers are sometimes eccentric,) is a security against the ill-digested plans and visionary projects, which they are peculiarly tempted to originate, whose vision is confined to a contracted horizon, and who are deceived, simply because they do not perceive the bearings of a principle in all its applications. An educated class expands the field of vision, and serves as a check to the irregular impulses and the impetuous innovations of minds, equally active, but less enlarged. It protects from rashness, from false maxims, from partial knowledge. It is a security for public order which can hardly be over-estimated—it is the regulator of the great clock of society. General intelligence, without high culture to keep it in check, will exemplify the maxim of Pope—

“A little learning is a dangerous thing,”

and will prove a greater curse to the State than absolute ignorance. It is not ignorance, but half-knowledge, that is full of whims and crotchets, the

prey of impulse and fanaticism, and the parent of restless agitation and ceaseless change. It is in the constant play of antagonist forces, the action and re-action of the higher and lower culture, that the life, health and vigour of society consist. General intelligence checks the stagnation of ignorance, and a thorough education, the rashness of empiricism. Where these prevail there is all the inspiration without the contortions of the Sibyl.*

In the next place it should not be omitted that general education is the true source of the elevation of the masses, and of the demand for popular instruction. Every educated man is a centre of light, and his example and influence create the consciousness of ignorance and the sense of need, from which elementary schools have sprung. Defective culture is never conscious of itself until it is brought into contact with superior power. There may be a conviction of ignorance in reference to special things, and a desire of knowledge as the means of accomplishing particular ends. But the need of intellectual improvement on its own account never is awakened spontaneously. We never lament our inferiority to angels. The reason is, we are not brought into contact with them, and are consequently not sensible of the disparity that exists. If we had examples before us of angelic amplitude of mind, the contrast would force upon us a lively impression of the lowness of our intellectual level. If we had never been accustomed to any other light but that of the stars, we should never have dreamed of the sun, nor felt the absence of his rays as any real evil. The positive in the order of thought is before the privative. We must know the good in order to understand the evil; we must be familiar with day to comprehend night and darkness. Hence it is that civilization never has been and never can be of spontaneous growth among a people. It has always been an inheritance or an importation. If men had been originally created savages, they would all have been savages to-day. Those ingenious theories which undertake, from principles of human nature, to explain the history of man's progress from barbarism to refinement, are nothing better than speculative romances. They are contradicted by experience, as well as by the laws of the human mind. Philosophy coincides with the Bible, man was created in the image of God, and the rudeness and coarseness of uncivilized communities are states of degradation into which he has apostatized and sunk, and not his primitive and original condition. Civilization has migrated from one centre to another, has found its way among barbarians and savages, and restored them to something of their forfeited inheritance, but, in every such instance, it has been introduced from without, it

* See some excellent remarks on this subject in President Walker's Inaugural Discourse.

has never developed itself from within. Where all is darkness, whence is the light to spring? What planet is the source of the rays that shine on it? Hence it is knowledge which creates the demand for knowledge—which causes ignorance to be felt as an evil, and hence it is the education, in the first instance, of the few, which has awakened the strong desire for the illumination of the many. Let knowledge, however, become stagnant—let no provision be made for the constant activity of the highest order of minds in the highest spheres of speculation, and the torpor would be communicated downwards, until the whole community was benumbed. The thinkers in the most abstract departments of speculation keep the whole of society in motion, and upon its motion depends its progress. Scholars, therefore, are the real benefactors of the people—and he does more for popular education who founds a University, than he who institutes a complete and adequate machinery of common schools. The reason is obvious—the most potent element of public opinion is wanting where only a low form of culture obtains—the common schools having no example of any thing higher before them, would soon degenerate and impart only a mechanical culture—if they did not, which I am inclined to think would be the case, from their want of life, if they did not permit the people to relapse into barbarism. Colleges, on the other hand, will create the demand for lower culture, and private enterprise under the stimulus imparted would not be backward in providing for it. The college will diffuse the education of principles, of maxims, a tone of thinking and feeling which are of the last importance, without the schools—the schools could never do it without the college. If we must dispense with one or the other, I have no hesitation in saying, that on the score of public good alone, it were wiser to dispense with the schools. One sun is better than a thousand stars. There never was, therefore, a more grievous error than that the college is in antagonism to the interests of the people. Precisely the opposite is the truth—and because it is preëminently a public good, operating directly or indirectly to the benefit of every citizen in the State, the Legislature was originally justified in founding, and in still sustaining, this noble institution. It has made South Carolina what she is—it has made her people what they are—and from her mountains to her seaboard there is not a nook or corner of the State that has not shared in its healthful influence. The very cries which are coming up from all quarters for the direct instruction of the people, cries which none should think of resisting, are only echoes from the college walls. We should never have heard of them, if the state of things had continued among us, which existed when the college was founded. The low country would still have sent its sons to Europe or the North, and the up-country would have been content with its fertile lands and invigorating hills.

The second ground of objection does not deny or diminish the importance of the College, or the general advantages of higher education. It only affirms that the State is not the proper body for dispensing them. The advocates of this negative opinion divide themselves into two classes, one maintaining that Colleges should support themselves—the other that they should be supported by endowments under the control of private or ecclesiastical corporations. The first was the doctrine of Adam Smith, who may be reckoned among the ablest opponents of the policy of public education in the higher branches of learning. He lays down the thesis, that the demand will infallibly create the supply—that in science, literature and the arts, as in the commodities which minister to the physical comfort and conveniences of man, what is wanted will be procured. The double operation of private interest, on the one hand to obtain, on the other to furnish, will present inducements enough to originate all the schools that may be needed to teach all the arts that may be desired. This ingenious reasoner forgot that, in the matter of education, as Sir Wm. Hamilton justly remarks,* “demand and supply are necessarily coexistent and coextensive—that it is education which creates the want which education only can satisfy. Those again,” says the same writer, “who, conceding all this, contend that the creation and supply of this demand should be abandoned by the State to private intelligence and philanthropy are contradicted both by reasoning and fact.” The expensiveness of the machinery which is necessary to put in motion a higher seminary of learning, renders it hopelessly impossible to make such institutions self-supporting bodies, and the attempt to do so would have no other effect than to degrade them into professional or scientific schools, in which knowledge is the end, and not the instrument. Hence there is not a College or University worthy of the name, either in Europe or America, that is capable of sustaining, much less of having founded, its various departments of instruction by the patronage it receives. Education has always lived on charity. Foundations and endowments, partly from individuals, partly from the State, have always been its reliances to supply the apparatus with which the machinery is kept in motion.

As to private corporations, it is certain that the degree of interest which is taken in learning for itself, will never be adequate to meet the exigencies of higher education. There must be some stronger principle at work, an impulse more general and pervading, in order to touch the chords of private liberality and awaken a responsive thrill. There may be extraordinary efforts of single men, but these spasmodic contributions will be too rare, besides that they may be hampered by unwise restrictions and limitations, to answer the ends of a College. The only principle which has vitality and

* Discussions, &c., p. 587.

power enough to keep the stream of private charity steadily turned in the direction of education is the principle of religion. And hence the true and only question is, does education belong to the Church or State. Into the hands of one or the other, it must fall or perish. This, too, is the great practical question among us. The most formidable war against the College will be that waged on the principle of its existence.

I respect the feeling out of which the jealousy of State institutions has grown. A godless education is worse than none; and I rejoice that the sentiment is well-nigh universal in this country, that a system which excludes the highest and most commanding, the eternal interests of man, must be radically defective, whether reference be had to the culture of the individual, or to his prosperity and influence in life. Man is essentially a religious being, and to make no provision for this noblest element of his nature, to ignore and preclude it from any distinct consideration, is to leave him but half-educated. The Ancients were accustomed to regard theology as the first philosophy, and there is not a people under the sun, whose religion has not been the chief inspiration of their literature. Take away the influence which this subject has exerted upon the human mind, destroy its contributions to the cause of letters, the impulse it has given to the speculations of philosophy, and what will be left after these subtractions will be comparatively small in quantity and feeble in life and spirit. We must have religion, if we would reach the highest forms of education. This is the atmosphere which must surround the mind and permeate all its activities, in order that its developement may be free, healthful and vigorous. Science languishes, letters pine, refinement is lost, wherever and whenever the genius of religion is excluded. Experience has demonstrated that, in some form or other, it must enter into every College and pervade every department of instruction. No institution has been able to live without it. But what right, it is asked, has the State to introduce it? What right, we might ask in return, has the State to exclude it? The difficulty lies in confounding the dogmatic peculiarities of sects with the spirit of religion. The State as such knows nothing of sects, but to protect them, but it does not follow that the State must be necessarily godless; and so a College knows nothing of denominations except as a feature in the history of the human race, but it does not follow that a College must be necessarily atheistic or unchristian. What is wanted is the pervading influence of religion as a life; the habitual sense of responsibility to God and of the true worth and destiny of the soul, which shall give tone to the character, and regulate all the pursuits of the place. The example, temper, and habitual deportment of the teachers, co-operating with the dogmatic instructions which have been received at the fireside and in the church, and coupled with the obligatory observance, except in cases of conscientious scruple, of the pecu-

liar duties of the Lord's day, will be found to do more in maintaining the power of religion than the constant recitation of the catechism, or the ceaseless inculcation of sectarian peculiarities. The difficulty of introducing religion is, indeed, rather speculative than practical. When we propose to teach religion as a science, and undertake by precise boundaries and exact statutory provisions, to define what shall and what shall not be taught, when by written schemes we endeavour to avoid all the peculiarities of sect and opinion without sacrificing the essential interests of religion, the task is impossible. The residuum, after our nice distinctions, is zero. But why introduce religion *as a science*? Let it come in the character of the Professors, let it come in the stated worship of the Sanctuary, and let it come in the vindication of those immortal records which constitute the basis of our faith.

Leave creeds and confessions to the fireside and church, the home and the pulpit. Have godly teachers and you will have comparatively a godly College. But what security have we that a State College will pay any attention to the religious character of its teachers? The security of public opinion, which, in proportion as the various religious denominations do their duty in their own spheres, will become absolutely irresistible. Let all the sects combine to support the State College, and they can soon create a sentiment which, with the terrible certainty of fate, shall tolerate nothing unholy or unclean in its walls. They can make it religious without being sectarian. The true power of the church over these institutions is not that of direct control, but of moral influence, arising from her direct work upon the hearts and consciences of all the members of the community. Is it alleged that experience presents us with mournful examples of State institutions degenerating into hot-beds of atheism and impiety? It may be promptly replied that the same experience presents us with equally mournful examples of church institutions degenerating into hot-beds of the vilest heresy and infidelity. And what is more to the point, a sound public opinion has never failed to bring these State institutions back to their proper moorings, while the church institutions have, not unfrequently, carried their sects with them and rendered reform impossible. In the case of State institutions, the security for religion lies in the public opinion of the whole community; in the case of church institutions, in the public opinion of a single denomination, and as the smaller body can more easily become corrupt than a larger, as there is a constant play of antagonisms which preserves the health in the one case, while they are wanting in the other, it seems clear that a State College, upon the whole, and in the long run, must be safer than any sectarian institution. As long as the people preserve their respect for religion, the College can be kept free from danger.

The principle, too, on which the argument for church supervision is founded, proves too much. It is assumed that wherever a religious influence becomes a matter of primary importance, there the church has legitimate jurisdiction. "This," it has been well said,* "puts an end to society itself, and makes the church the only power that can exist; since all that is necessary is for any officer or any power to be capable of moral effects, or influences, in order to put it under the dominion of the church. The moral influence of governors, judges, presidents, nay, even sheriffs, coroners, or constables, is as real and may be far more extensive than that of school-masters. The moral influence of wealth, manners, taste, is immense; that of domestic habits, nay, even personal habits, often decisive." The truth is, this species of argument would reduce every interest under the sun to the control of the church. It is just the principle on which the authority of the Pope over Kings and States has been assumed and defended. The argument, moreover, is one which can be very easily retorted. If, because education has a religious element, it must fall within the jurisdiction of the church, *a fortiori*, because it has multiplied secular elements, it must fall within the jurisdiction of the State. The church is a distinct corporation—with distinct rights and authority. She has direct control over nothing that is not spiritual in its matter and connected with our relations to Jesus Christ. She is His kingdom, and her functions are limited to His work as the mediator of the covenant and the saviour of the lost; and if education, in its secular aspects, is not a function of grace, but of nature, if it belongs to man, not as a christian, but simply as a man, then it no more falls within the jurisdiction of the church, than any other secular work. "The duties of the State are civil, not sacred: the duties of the church are sacred, not civil. To exclude the church from the control of general education, and to exempt it from the duty of providing the means thereof, it must be shown that education is of the nature of religious things, and that the duty of superintending it is, in its nature, spiritual. Is not a man bound to educate himself as an individual person? Is not every family bound to educate each other, and the head of the family peculiarly bound to educate the members? If so, are these obligations which arise out of our individual personality and out of our family relations, in any degree at all, or do they spring solely and chiefly, out of our obligations as members of Christ? Is a christian more bound, or is he chiefly bound, or is he exclusively bound—they are three degrees of the same proposition—to acquire and to impart knowledge, which has nothing to do with religion, but much to do

*Southern Presbyterian Review, vol. 3, p. 6. The article from which this extract is taken was written by Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, and is the most complete refutation of the manifold assumptions on which the theory of church education proceeds, that I have ever seen. It sets the question at rest.

with temporal success, and temporal usefulness; all the positive sciences, for example; simply or mainly as a christian, or because he is a christian? Or is he bound chiefly, or at all to do so, from any considerations drawn from his individual position, or his relations to his family or his country? These are considerations, and there are many more like them, that require to be deeply pondered before we arrive at the sweeping generalities which assume and assert that denominational education is the only safe and true conclusion of this 'high argument.' "*"

Apart from the principle involved, I have other objections to sectarian education: I say sectarian education, for the church as catholic and one, in the present condition of things, is not visible and corporate. What she does can only be done through the agency of one or more of the various fragments into which she has been suffered to split. In the first place, it is evident, from the feebleness of the sects, that these Colleges cannot be very largely endowed. In the next place, they are likely to be numerous. From these causes will result a strenuous competition for patronage; and from this, two effects may be expected to follow. First, the depression of the standard of general education, so as to allure students to their halls; and next, the preference of what is ostentatious and attractive in education to what is solid and substantial. It is true that there can be no lofty flight, as Bacon has suggested, "without some feathers of ostentation;" but it is equally true that there can be no flight at all, where there are not bone, muscle and sinew to sustain the feathers.

It is also a serious evil that the State should be habitually denounced as profane and infidel. To think and speak of it in that light is the sure way to make it so; and yet, this is the uniform representation of the advocates of church education. They will not permit the State to touch the subject, because its fingers are unclean. Can there be a more certain method to uproot the sentiments of patriotism, and to make us feel that the government of the country is an enormous evil to which we are to submit, not out of love, but for conscience sake? Will not something like this be the inevitable effect of the declamation and invective which bigots and zealots feel authorized to vent against the Commonwealth that protects them, in order that they may succeed in their narrow schemes? Instead of clinging around the State, as they would cling to the bosom of a beloved parent, and concentrating upon her the highest and holiest influences which they are capable of exerting; instead of teaching their children to love her, as the ordinance of God for good, to bless her for her manifold benefits, and to obey her with even a religious veneration, they repel her to a cold and cheerless distance, and brand her with the stigma of Divine reprobation. The result must be bad. "The fanaticism which despises the State, and

*Southern Presbyterian Review, vol. 3, p. 8, Dr. Breckenridge's article.

the infidelity which contemns the church, are both alike the product of ignorance and folly. God has established both the church and the State. It is as clearly our duty to be loyal and enlightened citizens, as to be faithful and earnest christians."

I think, too, that the tendency of sectarian Colleges to perpetuate the strife of sects; to fix whatever is heterogeneous in the elements of national character, and to alienate the citizens from each other, is a consideration not to be overlooked. There ought surely to be some common ground on which the members of the same State may meet together and feel that they are brothers—some common ground on which their children may mingle without confusion or discord, and bury every narrow and selfish interest in the sublime sentiment that they belong to the same family. Nothing is so powerful as a common education, and the thousand sweet associations which spring from it and cluster around it, to cherish the holy brotherhood of men. Those who have walked together in the same paths of science, and taken sweet counsel in the same halls of learning, who went arm in arm in that hallowed season of life when the foundations of all excellence are laid, who have wept with the same sorrows, or laughed with the same joys, who have been fired with the same ambition, lured with the same hopes, and grieved at the same disappointments, these are not the men, in after years, to stir up animosities, or foment intestine feuds. Their college life is a bond of union, which nothing can break; a Divine poetry of existence which nothing is allowed to profane. Who can forget his college days, and his college companions, and even his college dreams? Would you make any Commonwealth a unit, educate its sons together. This is the secret of the harmony which has so remarkably characterized our State. It was not the influence of a single mind, great as that mind was—it was no tame submission to authoritative dictation. It was the community of thought, feeling and character, achieved by a common education within these walls. Here it was that heart was knit to heart, mind to mind, and that a common character was formed. All these advantages must be lost, if the sectarian scheme prevails. South Carolina will no longer be a unit, nor her citizens brothers. We shall have sect against sect, school against school, and college against college; and he knows but little of the past who has not observed that the most formidable dangers to any State are those which spring from divisions in its own bosom, and that these divisions are terrible in proportion to the degree in which the religious element enters into them.

I shall say no more upon the College. I have spoken of its end, its organization and its defects; and have vindicated the policy upon which it was founded. What I have said I believe to be true, and I am sure that it is seasonable. And nothing would delight me more, as a man, a Christian, and a patriot, than to see all jealousies laid aside, all sectarian

schemes abandoned, and the whole State, as one man, rally to its support. It would find ample employment for all the funds which private liberality is pouring into the coffers of other institutions; and when charity had done its utmost, and the government still more freely unlocked its treasury, we should have a splendid institution, beyond doubt, but one which was still not perfect. Education is a vast and complicated interest, and it requires the legacies of ages and generations past, as well as the steady contributions of the living, to keep the stream from subsiding. Let it roll among us like a mighty river, whose ceaseless flow is maintained by the springs of charity and the great fountain of public munificence. Let us have a College which is worthy of the name—to which we can invite the scholars of Europe with an honest pride, and to which our children may repair from all our borders, as the States of Greece to their Olympia, or the chosen tribes to Mount Zion. How beautiful it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!

II. The next part of our system in the order of Legislation is the Free Schools. And here I am sorry to say that the law is not only inadequate, but there is a very extraordinary discrepancy between the law and the practice, which increases the difficulty and has added to the inefficiency of the standing appropriation. It is clear from the face of it that the Act of 1811 was designed as the first step towards the establishment of a system of Common Schools, that should bring the means of elementary education within the reach of every child in the State. It was not intended to be a provision for *paupers*. Throughout our statutes *Free Schools* mean *Public Schools*, or schools which are open to every citizen. The first act in which I find the expression is that of the 8th of April, 1710, entitled an act for the founding and erecting of a Free School for the use of the inhabitants of South Carolina. This act created and incorporated a Board of Trustees for the purpose of taking charge of such funds as had already been contributed, or might afterwards be contributed for public instruction in the Province. In it the epithet *free* is synonymous, not with *pauper*, but *public*, or *common*. The same is the case in the act of the 7th June, 1712, entitled an act for the encouragement of learning. Although the School was a *Free School*, every pupil was required to *pay* for his tuition. But the meaning of the phrase is made still clearer by the extended act of the 12th December of the same year. There the School was manifestly open to *all*. Special inducements were held out to patronize and encourage it, and provisions made for educating a certain number free of expense. The act of 1811, which is the basis of our present system, is so clear and explicit as to the kind of Schools to be founded, that I am utterly unable to account for the partial and exclusive interpretation which has been put upon its words. The third section provides, "that every citizen of this State shall be entitled to send his or her child or children, ward or wards, to any Free School in the

District where he or she may reside, free from any expense whatever on account of tuition ; and where more children shall apply for admission at any one School, than can be conveniently educated therein, a preference shall always be given to poor orphans and the children of indigent and necessitous parents."

I have no doubt that if this act had been executed according to its true intent and meaning, and Public Schools had been established in every District of the State corresponding to the number of members in the House of Representatives, the advantages would have been so conspicuous that the Legislature could not have stopped until the means of instruction had been afforded to every neighborhood, to every family, and to every child. The law was wise—it was strictly tentative and provisional, but its benevolent intention has been defeated by a singular misconception of its meaning. As a provisional law, it was defective in unity of plan. The Commissioners in each District were absolutely independent and irresponsible. There was no central power which could correct mistakes and which could infuse a common spirit and a common life into the whole scheme. The consequence is that, after all our legislation and all our expenditures we have not even the elements in practical operation of a system of Public Schools. We have the whole work to begin anew.

You will permit me to suggest a few reasons why we should begin it heartily and at once, and then to intimate the nature and extent of our incipient efforts.

1. In the first place, it is the duty of the State to provide for the education of its citizens. Even Adam Smith, who, we have seen, was opposed to the direct interference of the government in higher, or liberal education, is constrained to admit that the education of the common people forms an exception to his principle. He makes it the care of the government upon the same general ground with the cultivation of a martial spirit. We should be as solicitous that our citizens should not be ignorant as that they should not be cowards. The whole passage is so striking that you will excuse me for quoting it in full. "But a coward, a man incapable either of defending or of revenging himself, evidently wants one of the most essential parts of the character of a man. He is as much mutilated and deformed in his mind as another is in his body, who is either deprived of some of his most essential members, or has lost the use of them. He is evidently the more wretched and miserable of the two ; because happiness and misery, which reside altogether in the mind, must necessarily depend more upon the healthful or unhealthful, the mutilated or entire state of the mind, than upon that of the body. Even though the martial spirit of the people were of no use towards the defence of the society, yet, to prevent that sort of mental mutilation, deformity and wretchedness, which cowardice necessarily

involves in it, from spreading themselves through the great body of the people, would still deserve the most serious attention of government; in the same manner as it would deserve its most serious attention to prevent a leprosy, or any other loathsome and offensive disease, from spreading itself among them; though perhaps, no other public good might result from such attention besides the prevention of so great a public evil.

"The same thing may be said of the gross ignorance and stupidity which, in a civilized society, seem so frequently to benumb the understandings of all the inferior ranks of people. A man without the proper use of the intellectual faculties of a man is, if possible, more contemptible than even a coward, and seems to be mutilated and deformed in a still more essential part of the character of human nature. Though the State was to derive no advantage from the instruction of the inferior ranks of the people, it would still deserve its attention that they should not be altogether uninstructed. The State, however, derives no inconsiderable advantage from their instruction. The more they are instructed, the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which, among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders. An instructed and intelligent people, besides, are always more decent and orderly than an ignorant and stupid one. They feel themselves, each individually, more respectable, and more likely to obtain the respect of their lawful superiors, and they are, therefore, more disposed to respect those superiors. They are more disposed to examine, and more capable of seeing through, the interested complaints of faction and sedition; and they are, upon that account, less apt to be misled into any wanton or unnecessary opposition to the measures of government. In free countries, where the safety of government depends very much upon the favourable judgment which the people may form of its conduct, it must surely be of the highest importance that they should not be disposed to judge rashly or capriciously concerning it."

"If the community wish to have the benefit of more knowledge and intelligence in the labouring classes," says Say, "it must dispense it at the public charge. This object may be obtained by the establishment of primary schools, of reading, writing and arithmetic. These are the groundwork of all knowledge, and are quite sufficient for the civilization of the lower classes. In fact, one cannot call a nation civilized, nor consequently possessed of the benefits of civilization, until the people at large be instructed in these three particulars: till then it will be but partially reclaimed from barbarism."

I might multiply authorities to an indefinite extent, showing that it is the general opinion of political philosophers, that popular instruction is one of the most sacred duties of the Commonwealth. The opinion obviously rests upon two grounds—the importance of education in itself and in its relations to the State, and the impossibility of adequately providing for it without the

assistance of Legislature. The alternative is, either that the education of the people must be abandoned as hopeless, or the government must embark in the work. Surely, if this be really the state of the case, South Carolina cannot hesitate a moment as to which branch of the proposition she will choose. When it is remembered that education makes the citizen as well as the man—that it is precisely what fits a human being to be a living member of a Commonwealth, we cannot hesitate as to whether our people shall be cyphers or men.

And that this is the alternative, is clear, both from the nature of the case, and from fact. Whoever considers what it is to provide an adequate system of instruction for all the children of a country, the amount of funds necessary to erect school-houses, to found libraries, to procure the needful apparatus, to pay teachers, and to keep the machinery, once set in motion, in steady and successful operation, will perceive the folly of entrusting such a task to the disjointed efforts of individuals, or the conflicting efforts of religious denominations. In either case, there will be no unity of plan, no competency of means—what is done must be done partially, and because partially, must be done amiss. "All experience," says Sir William Hamilton, "demonstrates the necessity of State interference. No countries present a more remarkable contrast in this respect (in regard to popular education) than England and Germany. In the former the State has done nothing for the education of the people, and private benevolence more than has been attempted elsewhere; in the latter, the Government has done everything, and left to private benevolence almost nothing to effect. The English people are, however, the lowest, the German people the highest, in the scale of knowledge. All that Scotland enjoys of popular education above the other kingdoms of the British Empire, she owes to the State; and among the principalities of Germany, from Russia down to Hesse Cassel, education is uniformly found to prosper exactly in proportion to the extent of interference, and to the unremitted watchfulness of Government. * * * The experience of the last half century in Germany, has, indeed, completely set at rest the question. For thirty years no German has been found to maintain the doctrine of Smith. In their generous rivalry, the Governments of that country have practically shown what a benevolent and prudent policy could effect for the university as for the school; and knowing what they have done, who is there now to maintain, that for education as for trade, the State can prevent evil, but cannot originate good."

There are those among us who admit that no complete system of popular education can be instituted without the intervention of the State, and yet maintain that the true method of intervention is simply to supplement individual exertions; that is, they would have those who are able to do so,

educate their children in schools sustained by themselves, and solicit the aid of the Legislature only for paupers. It is obvious, in the first place, that in this there is no system at all; the schools are detached and independent; they have no common life, and the State knows nothing of the influences which may be exerted within them. Education is too complicated an interest, and touches the prosperity of the Commonwealth in too many points to be left, in reference to the most important class of its subjects, absolutely without responsibility to the Government. The homogeneity of the population can only be sustained by a general system of public schools. In the next place, the scheme is invidious. It makes a reproachful distinction betwixt the children of the Commonwealth; and in the last place, it must, from this very circumstance, be inefficient; parents will scorn a favour rather than permit their children to be stigmatized as the condition of receiving it. The true policy of the State is to recognize no distinction betwixt the rich and the poor; to put them all upon the same footing; to treat them simply as so many minds, whose capacities are to be unfolded, and whose energies are to be directed. The rich and the poor, in the school-house, as in the house of God, should meet together upon the ground of their common relations, and the consequences of this promiscuous elementary training would soon be felt in harmonizing and smoothing all the unevenness, harshnesses and inequalities of social life.

2. In the second place, the State should make some speedy provisions for popular education in consequence of the unusual demand which, in some form or other, is indicated as existing in every section of the country. There never was a greater cry for schools; the people are beginning to appreciate their importance, and at no period within my recollection have such strenuous efforts been made to establish and support them. The extraordinary exertions of the various sects—exertions, too, which deserve all praise considered as attempts to satisfy an acknowledged public want—and the success which has attended them, are proofs that public opinion is ripe in South Carolina for the interference of the Legislature; and if it should not speedily interfere, this great and mighty interest will pass completely out of its hands, and be beyond its regulation or control. It is a critical period with us in the history of education. The people are calling for schools and teachers; and if the State will not listen to their cries, they will be justified in adopting the best expedients they can, and in acceding to the provisions which religious zeal proposes to their acceptance. Our people are not, as a body, in favour of sectarian education. They prefer a general and unexclusive system; and if they adopt the narrower, it will be because their own Government has been inattentive to their interests. I sincerely hope that the Legislature may be duly sensible of the delicate posture of this subject. To my mind, it is clear as the noon-day sun, that

if any thing is to be done, it must be done at once. Now or never is the real state of the problem.

3. In the third place, the State should take the subject in hand, because this is the only way by which consistency and coherence can be secured in the different departments of instruction. Education is a connected work, and its various sub-divisions should be so arranged, that while each is a whole in itself, it should be, at the same time, a part of a still greater whole. The lower elementary education should, for example, be complete for those who aspire to nothing more; it should likewise be naturally introductory to a higher culture. It should be a perfect whole for the one class, and a properly adjusted part for the other. So also, the higher elementary education, that of the grammar school, should be complete for those who are not looking to a liberal education, and yet, in relation to others, subsidiary to the College or the scientific school. This unity in the midst of variety cannot be secured without a common centre of impulse and of action. There must be one presiding spirit, one head, one heart. Education will become a disjointed and fragmentary process, if it is left to individuals, to private corporations and religious sects. Each will have his tongue and his psalm, and we shall have as many crotchets and experiments as there are controlling bodies. The competition excited will be a competition, not for efficiency in instruction, but for numbers; each will estimate success by the hosts that can be paraded at its annual festivals, or the pomp and pretension of a theatrical pageant, played off under the name of an examination. This is not the language of reproach; it is a result which, from the principles of human nature, will be inevitably necessitated, by the condition in which the schools shall find themselves placed.

Let me add, in this last place, that Public Education is recommended by considerations of economy. Absolutely, it is the cheapest of all systems. It saves the enormous expense of boarding schools, or the still heavier expense of domestic tutors, one of which must be encountered where it is left to private enterprise to supply the means of education. If the amount which is annually expended in South Carolina upon the instruction of that portion of her children who are looking to a liberal education, could be collected into one sum, we should be amazed at the prodigality of means in comparison with the poverty of the result. The same sum judiciously distributed would go very far towards supplying every neighborhood with a competent teacher. From the want of system there is no security that, with all this lavish expenditure, efficient instructors shall be procured. Those who employ the teachers are not always competent to judge of their qualifications; and the consequence is that time and money are both not unfrequently squandered in learning what has afterwards to be unlearned. The dangers, too, of sending children from home at an early age, the evil

of exemption from parental influence and discipline, are not to be lightly hazarded. The State should see to it that the family is preserved in its integrity, and enabled to exert all its mighty power in shaping the character of the future citizens of the Commonwealth. Comparatively, Public Education is cheap; as general intelligence contributes to general virtue, and general virtue diminishes expenditures for crime. It is cheap, as it develops the resources of the country and increases the mass of its wealth. It is not labour, but intelligence that creates new values, and Public Education is an outlay of capital that returns to the coffers of the State with an enormous interest. Not a dollar, therefore, that is judiciously appropriated to the instruction of the people, will ever be lost. The five talents will gain other five, and the two talents other two, while to neglect this great department of duty is to wrap the talent in a napkin and bury it in the bowels of the earth.

2. But, after all, the practical question is the one of real difficulty. What shall the State do? This is a point of great delicacy, and demands consummate wisdom. Nothing should be done abruptly and violently, no measures should be adopted that are not likely to recommend themselves, no attempts made to force an acquiescence into any provisions, however salutary they may have proved elsewhere, which are not founded in the habits and predilections of the people, or obviously indispensable to elevate and improve them. The public mind should be prepared for every great movement, before it is begun. Popular enthusiasm should, if possible, be awakened by addresses and disputations—which, like pioneers, prepare the way for the law, by making rough places plain and the crooked straight. Above all we should guard against attempting to make our system too perfect at the outset. The words of Cousin are as applicable to us now, as they were to France at the time he wrote them. “God grant that we may be wise enough to see that any law on primary instruction passed now must be a provisional, and not a definitive law; that it must of necessity be reconstructed at the end of ten years, and that the only thing now is to supply the most urgent wants, and to give legal sanction to some incontestible points;” *Festina lente* contains a caution which it becomes States as well as individuals to respect.

What we first need is a collection of the facts from which the data of a proper system may be drawn. We must know the number of children in the State, of the ages at which children are usually sent to School, the kind and degree of education demanded, the relative distances of the residence of parents, the points at which school houses may be most conveniently erected, the number of buildings required, the number of teachers, and the salaries which different localities make necessary to a competent support. Facts of this sort must constitute the groundwork. In possession of these,

we may then proceed to compare different systems, adopting from among them that which seems to be best adapted to our own circumstances, or originating a new one, if all should prove unsatisfactory. All, therefore, that in my judgment, the Legislature should undertake at present, is to acquire this preliminary information, including the accumulation of facts, the comparison of different Common School systems, and the digest of a plan suited to the wants of our own people. This can be done by the appointment of a minister of public instruction, who shall be regarded as an officer of the government, compensated by a large salary, and who shall give himself unreservedly to this great interest. Let him be required to traverse the State, to inspect the condition of every neighborhood, and from personal observation and authentic testimony let him become acquainted with the number, the extent and the circumstances of the children. Let him be prepared to say where school houses can be most conveniently erected, the distances at which they should be removed from each other, the kind of teacher needed in each neighborhood, and let him indicate what sections of the State are unprepared for Schools in consequence of the dispersion of their inhabitants. Let him be able to give some probable estimate of the expense incident to the successful operation of an adequate scheme. In the next place, it should be his duty to master the existing systems, whether in this country or Europe, and to lay before the Legislature a succinct account of their fundamental provisions. Let him propose the scheme which he thinks ought to be adopted here, and let his report be referred to an able and learned Commission, charged with the final preparation of such a scheme as we may be ready to enact into law.

I shall not disguise from your Excellency that upon many points connected with the details of any and every scheme, my own opinion has long ago been definitely settled. The extent or degree of elementary education—the best mode of securing competent teachers—the principles which should regulate their salaries—the introduction of religion into the schools—these and many other similar topics I have investigated to my own satisfaction. But in the present condition of the whole subject, it would be obviously premature to express the opinions of any individual. The Minister of Public Instruction should have the whole subject before him, and whatever discussions may take place upon details should be consequent upon, and not prior to his report. All, therefore, that I would now press upon your Excellency is to have Public Instruction erected into a department of the government. That is the first, and an indispensable step, and until that is done, there never can be a plan, adequate, consistent, successful. I have only to add here, that this is substantially the recommendation which I had the honor to make in concert with the Bishop of Georgia, some fourteen or

fifteen years ago, and time and observation have only strengthened my convictions of the wisdom and necessity of the measure.

3. The third and last part of our system is the military schools. What I have to suggest in regard to them, is that they be made to supply a want which is constantly increasing, as the country advances in trade and the arts. It is a great evil that there should be nothing intermediate between the Grammar School and the College, and that all who wish to acquire nothing more than the principles of physical science on account of their application to various branches of industry, should be compelled to purchase this privilege by bearing what to them is the heavy burden of a liberal education. They do not want Latin, Greek and Philosophy, and it is hard that they cannot be permitted to get a little chemistry, a little engineering, or a little natural philosophy, without going through Homer and Virgil, Aristotle and Locke. "Two great evils," I use the words of Cousin, who is deploring a similar state of things in France, "two great evils are the consequence. In general these boys, who know that they are not destined to any very distinguished career, go through their studies in a negligent manner; they never get beyond mediocrity; when, at about eighteen, they go back to the habits and the business of their fathers, as there is nothing in their ordinary life to recall or to keep up their studies, a few years obliterate every trace of the little classical learning they acquired. On the other hand, these young men often contract tastes and acquaintances at College which render it difficult, nay, almost impossible, for them to return to the humble way of life, to which they were born; hence a race of men, restless, discontented with their position, with others and with themselves; enemies of a state of society in which they feel themselves out of place, and with some acquirements, some real or imagined talent, and unbridled ambition, ready to rush into any career of servility or revolt. * * * Our Colleges ought, without doubt, to remain open to all who can pay the expense of them: but we ought by no means to force the lower classes into them; yet this is the inevitable effect of having no intermediate establishments between the primary schools and the Colleges." The remedy, as I have already shown, is not to change the constitution of the College, but to employ the elements which we confessedly have, and which are essentially suited to the purpose.

I shall trespass upon the patience of your Excellency no longer. In all that I have said I have had an eye to the prosperity and glory of my native State. Small in territory and feeble in numbers, the only means by which she can maintain her dignity and importance is by the patronage of letters. A mere speck, compared with several other States in the Union, her reliance for the protection of her rights, and her full and equal influence in Federal legislation, must be upon the genius of her statesmen and the character of

her people. Let her give herself to the rearing of a noble race of men, and she will make up in moral power what she wants in votes. Public education is the cheap expedient for uniting us among ourselves, and rendering us terrible abroad. Mind after all must be felt, and I am anxious to see my beloved Carolina preëminently distinguished for the learning, eloquence and patriotism of her sons. Let us endeavour to make her in general intelligence what she is in dignity and independence of character, the brightest star in the American constellation. God grant that the time may soon come when not an individual born within our borders shall be permitted to reach maturity without having mastered the elements of knowledge.

I am, with considerations of the highest respect,

J. H. THORNWELL

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Dialectic and Philanthropic Societies,

AT



CHAPEL HILL, N. C.,

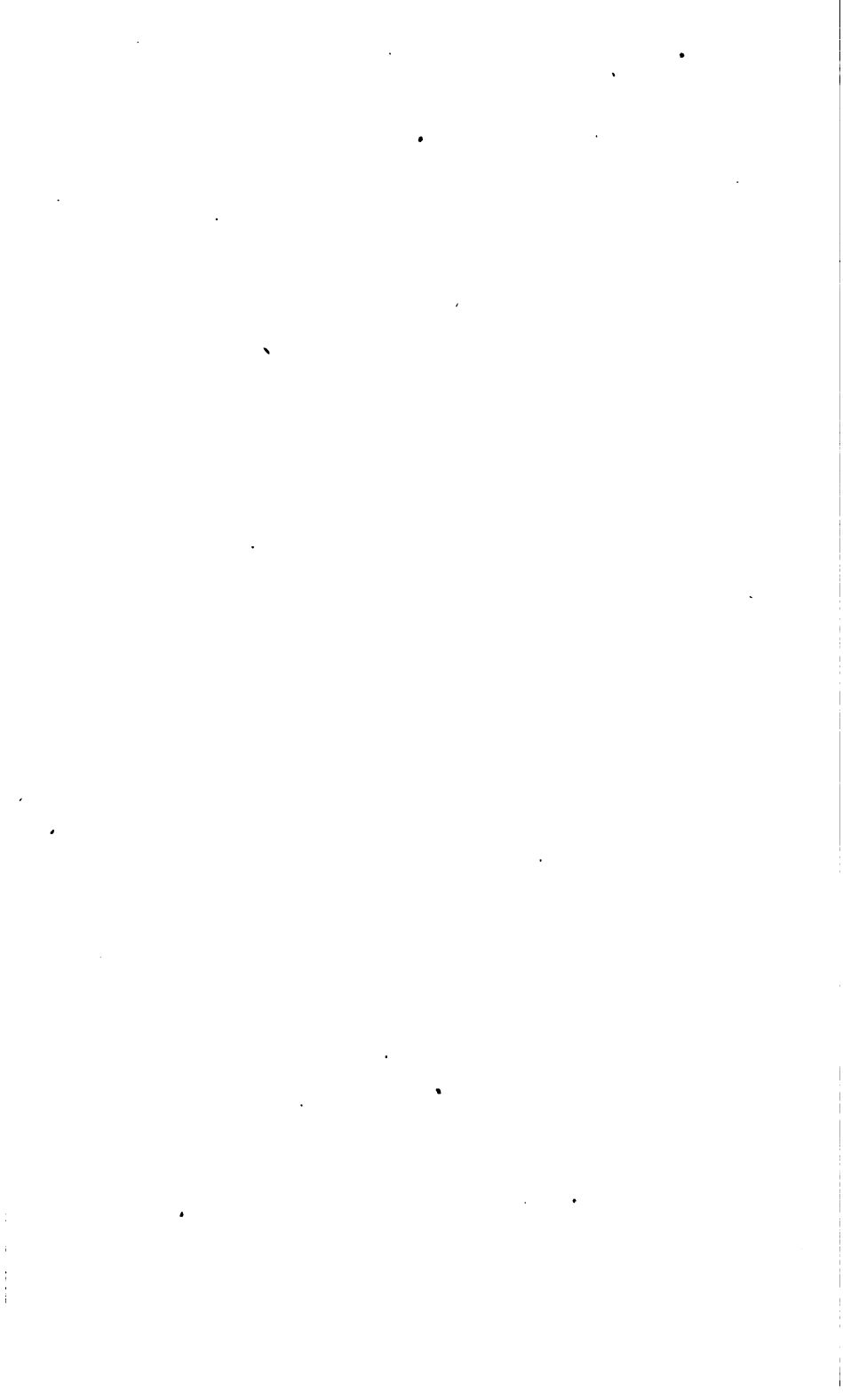
JUNE 20, 1832.

BY HON. WILLIAM GASTON, LL. D.

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THIS Address was delivered before the two Literary Societies of the University of North Carolina by the HON. WILLIAM GASTON, LL. D., on Commencement day of 1832. It has since that time passed through four editions. It continues to be so popular and in such great demand, that the PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETY has ordered this the fifth edition to be published.

N. C. HUGHES, }
M. L. EURE, } Com.
E. H. DAVIS. }

ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE DIALECTIC AND PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETIES :

When I look around on this extraordinary concourse of visitors, I cannot but feel that expectation has been too highly excited, and cannot but anticipate and regret the disappointment which it must necessarily meet with.— Aware of the value that is here set upon the ceremony of the annual address; knowing that the friends of the University throughout the State, regard it as calculated not only to excite a spirit of emulation among the Students, but to attract the public attention to the Institution itself; and warmly attached to that noble cause, for the advancement of which these edifices have been erected and your associations formed, I felt myself bound to accept the invitation, in obedience to which I appear before you. Could I indeed have foreseen the unusual engagements, which added to the ordinary occupations of a busy life, have left me no leisure to prepare any thing worthy of the general expectation, I should have deemed myself at liberty to decline the call. But the discovery was not made until after my word was pledged, and it was too late to hope that the duty could be devolved on another. Compelled then to choose between an entire disappointment of your hopes, and the presenting myself to you without the advantages of full preparation, I have resolved to execute the undertaking imperfectly, rather than forego it altogether. To whatever petty mortifications the adoption of this alternative may expose me elsewhere, from you, my young friends,

I am sure of a favorable reception. You will see in it an expression of the sense which I entertain of the honor conferred on me, by your choice, of my readiness to gratify your wishes, and of my solicitude to cheer you on in the noble career upon which you have entered. The few homely truths which I wish to impress upon your minds, will not indeed come mended from my tongue, but I do not despair that, presented in their naked plainness, but urged with the earnestness and sincerity of friendship, they may win their way to your generous and affectionate approbation. The authority of Shakespeare is often invoked for the position, that "there is a tide in the affairs of men, which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune." Without venturing to deny altogether the fitness of this metaphor, and fully admitting it to have enough of truth to render it appropriate to the occasion for which it was used, and the character to whom the great poet assigned it, I yet regard it as too favorable of that indolence of disposition which is always ready to imagine success in life as depending on some fortunate tide. I hold, that, generally, every man is the architect of his own fortune, the author of his own greatness or insignificance, happiness or misery. True it is, that casualties, neither to be foreseen or prevented, may defeat schemes which have been wisely concerted and vigorously prosecuted; and that success, undeserved, and perhaps unsought for, may sometimes befall the weak and slothful.—These, however, are but occasional deviations from the ordinary course of nature, according to which, man's energies, wisely or foolishly directed, and diligently or carelessly exerted, are made to determine his character and condition in society. The stoutest ship that was ever manned with prudent heads, brave hearts and strong hands, has foundered in a hurricane, while the feeble bark that "owns no mastery in floating," is sometimes safely wafted into port; yet, who can deny that, ordinarily, the fate of the

voyage must depend on the skill, care and courage with which it is conducted.

Much, too, very much, either for permanent good or ill, in the fate of every individual, has been found to follow almost necessarily from the habits formed, the propensities cherished or restrained, and the rules of conduct adopted at a very early period of life. We might, perhaps, be tempted to regret that such important and often awful consequences should follow on the doings of an age, when the unworn senses are alive to every impression, and the keen appetite greedy for every enjoyment; when the imagination is wild, the judgment feeble, and "heedless rambling impulse" has scarcely learned to think. Yet such is the constitution of nature, and such consequently the appointment of HIM, whose ways are always wise, benevolent and just; and whose will it were not more madness to resist, than it is impiety to question. Look through the world, and the least observant cannot fail to discover talents abused, opportunities squandered, and men ruined, because of early folly, misbehavior or thoughtlessness; and let those who have passed through life's ordeal with safety and honor, look back on their trials, and they will acknowledge how much they owe to very early impressions, and to habits contracted almost without a sense of their use or a foresight of their consequences. He, therefore, who aspires to excellence, cannot too soon propose to himself the objects which he should strive to obtain, nor fix his aim too early, or too steadily, on the end to which his efforts should be directed. The shortness of life, the large fragments of it which are necessarily occupied by animal wants, or wasted in frivolous cares and amusements, leave, at best, but an inconsiderable portion to be devoted to intellectual cultivation and exertion. To waste this portion would be criminal improvidence, and it is of the highest moment to learn betimes how it may be most beneficially applied.

The end which an ingenuous youth naturally proposes to himself is, a faithful and honorable discharge of the duties of life. His objects are to realize the fond hopes of his parents and friends, to acquire the affection and esteem of those around him, to become the dispenser of good to his fellow-men, and thus to fulfil the purposes for which it has pleased God to place him in this world of trial and discipline. He feels that these objects are indeed good. By a moral instinct, he is propelled towards them as fit to fill his heart, kindle his aspirations and animate his exertions.—Reason, as she gradually unfolds her powers and assumes dominion over him, sanctions this choice with her approbation; and Religion comes in aid of Nature and Reason, to teach him that talents are but lent to be improved, and that an account must be one day rendered, in which their use or neglect will be amply rewarded or severely punished. How much is it not to be lamented, that sloth should enervate, dissipation corrupt, or vice brutalize, this child of hope and promise? You who have him in charge, watch over him with never sleeping vigilance and affectionate solicitude. Give him a happy start, sustain him when disposed to flag, reanimate him when discouraged, check kindly his wanderings, soothe his wounded feelings, guide him with your counsels, and save him from the foes by which he is surrounded and beset.

“Macte nova virtute puer sic itur ad astra.”

Most faithfully, no doubt, are these duties performed by the able and excellent men who are here charged with the office of instruction. Little can be done in aid of their efforts, but to exhort and entreat all placed under their care to attend to their admonitions, treasure up their counsels, and obey their injunctions. Yet there are some errors which were prevalent when I was a boy, which I have reason to believe still prevail in public schools, and which may perhaps be better handled by an old friend than by an ac-

knowledgeed instructor—and to these, therefore, I would for a few moments request the favorable attention of the younger portion of my hearers.

Vigorous, diligent, and persevering application is essential to the attainment of excellence in every pursuit of man. It is undoubtedly a mistake to suppose, that there is no original inequality in the mental faculties of different individuals. Probably, there is as great a disparity in their intellectual, as their physical conformation. But however false this extravagant theory may be, there is another error far more common, and, practically, far more mischievous—the error of exaggerating the difference between the original energies of intellect, and of attributing to splendid and resistless genius those victories, which are not to be achieved but by well directed and continued industry. It is in the infancy of life, that the inequalities of original talent are most striking, and it is not strange that vanity on the one hand, and indolent admiration on the other, should hyperbolically extol these obvious advantages. In what, this disparity consists, it may not be easy to state with precision. But from an observation of many years, I venture to suggest, that the chief natural superiority manifested by the favored few over their competitors in the intellectual conflict, is to be found in the facility with which their attention is directed and confined to its proper subjects. That youth may be regarded as fortunate indeed, who in early life can restrain his wandering thoughts and tie down his mind at will, to the contemplation of whatever he wishes to comprehend and to make his own. A few moments of this concentrated application is worth days and weeks of a vague, interrupted, scattered attention. The first resembles the well-known manœuvre in Strategy, so simple in its conception and yet so astonishing in its results, by which all the arms of a military force are made to bear upon a given point at the same moment. Everything

here tells, because there is no power wasted, and none misapplied. Now let no one despair, because he finds this effort to confine his attention difficult, or for a considerable length of time impracticable. Nothing is more certain than that this power over the mind may be acquired. Let the attempt be repeated again and again—first for short, afterwards, as the ability is increased, for longer periods, and success will ultimately follow. The habit of fixed attention will thus be created, and it is one of the peculiarities of all active habits, that in proportion to the difficulty with which they were produced, is their inveteracy, when once thoroughly formed. Thus, it not unfrequently happens, that the advantages with which the individual commenced his career, who was naturally alert and devoted in his attention to every subject as it was successively presented to his notice, have not enabled him to contend successfully with him, who by hard efforts has chained down his wandering thoughts and dissipated faculties to the habit of attention.

Among the best results which attend a course of regular academical education, is this exclusive and concentrated direction of the mental powers to their appropriate objects. In the years employed principally in the study of the learned languages, the necessity of finding out the meaning of each word, and discerning either the agreement between different words, or the dependance of some of them upon others in certain grammatical relations, necessarily sharpens and fixes the attention. After this preparatory discipline of the intellect, the student is introduced to the study of mathematical science, where proposition leads on to proposition in regular order, and his attention is necessarily enchained to each truth, as it follows with logical certainty, from truths previously demonstrated. He is then initiated into the mysterious laws of Natural Philosophy, as they have been discovered, explained, and illustra-

ted, by a course of rigorous induction, and is ultimately familiarized with the yet nobler and more sublime investigations of moral science, the refinements of taste, the beauties of eloquence, and the charms of heavenly poesy. And this admirable training is conducted remote from the bustles and cares of the world, in the very hush of the passions, and beyond the reach of beguiling and distracting pleasures. Here, surely, then, the understanding is disciplined, its discriminations rendered more acute, its general health and vigor confirmed, while a facility is created for directing its powers to the various manly and trying services, which may await it in life's busy theatre. But not unfrequently is the question asked by querulous Students, why all this devoted attention to the dead languages, to mathematical theorems, philosophical experiments, metaphysical disquisitions and critical subtleties? In the world, no one talks Greek or Latin, and at the Forum, or in the Legislative Hall, we shall not be called to demonstrate the propositions of Euclid, or explain the phenomena of hydrostatics and optics. The motives of human action are better learned in that great practical school, the world, than by poring over the theories of metaphysicians; and all the rules of Quintilian, Rollin or Blair, will never make a powerful reasoner or an eloquent orator. Why, then, shall we consume our nights and days in the acquisition of that which is to be of no practical utility hereafter, and which brings with it no immediate advantage, except the gratification of pride, a short-lived honor, a distinction at Commencement? Beware, my young friends, beware of the tempter. These are the suggestions of Sloth—the most insidious, persuasive and dangerous of deceivers.

“Vitanda est improba syren Desidia.”

If you cannot close your ears against her insinuations, strengthen your understandings to triumph over her sophisms, and nerve your courage to resist her wiles. Be sure,

if you submit to her benumbing influence, and waste your days here in idleness, the time will come, when with bitter, but perhaps unavailing anguish, you shall bemoan your folly. Remember, that it is not designed by an accidental education, to teach you all that it behooves you to learn—Education is not completed within these walls. When you shall have quitted this peaceful retreat, and selected the profession or state in life in which you are to be engaged, then you should apply all your efforts to the acquisition of that species of knowledge which is more especially needed. Here are inculcated those elementary principles of science and literature, which experience has shown to be best fitted to form the foundation of the character of the scholar and gentleman—those rudiments of instruction, which, omitted here, are rarely indeed acquired afterwards. Here are to be formed those habits of vigorous and continuous application—here, the capacities for improvement are to be cultivated and strengthened, so that every occasion and every employment without these walls may become subsidiary to further advancement in knowledge, ability, and usefulness. It is a miserable fallacy to mistake the exception for the rule. True it is, that those who have won the highest honors at College, do not always realize the hopes that these glorious beginnings have excited. “The fair bloom of fairest fruit” may be blasted by pestilent dews. Folly, vanity and vice, low pursuits and vulgar associations, indolence, intemperance, and debauchery, but too often debase and destroy the generous youth, who entered on life’s career, rich in academical distinctions, docile, ardent for fame, patient of labour, of manly purpose and noblest promise. Mourn over these moral wrecks. Lament the instability of all earthly good, the frail character of all human excellence. Weep for those who have fallen from their high estate, but say not it was folly in them thus to have risen. True it is also, that it sometimes, though very rarely, happens, that those who

have been idle during their academical course, have by extraordinary exertions, retrieved their early neglect, and in the end outstripped others who started in the race far ahead. These are the exceptions—they furnish cause to humble arrogance, check presumption, banish despair, and encourage reformation. But so surely as a virtuous life usually precedes a happy death, so surely it will be found, that within the College precincts is laid the ground work of that pre-eminence afterward acquired in the strife of men, and that College distinctions are not only good testimony of the fidelity with which College duties have been performed, but the best presages and pledges of excellence on a more elevated and extensive field of action. In defiance, therefore, of all the lures of pleasure, and seductive suggestions of sloth, let active persevering industry be the habit of your lives. Form this habit here, and cherish and preserve it ever afterwards.

But however earnestly you are thus exhorted to diligence, let it not be forgotten, that diligence itself is but a subordinate quality, and derives its chief value from the end to which it is directed, and the motives by which it is impelled. It is diligence in a good cause only that is commendable. The first great maxim of human conduct, that which it is all important to impress on the understandings of young men, and recommend to their hearty adoption, is above all things, in all circumstances, and under every emergency, to preserve a clean heart and an honest purpose. Integrity, firm, determined integrity, is that quality, which of all others, raises man to the highest dignity of his nature, and fits him to adorn and bless the sphere in which he is appointed to move. Without it, neither genius nor learning, neither the gifts of God, nor human exertions, can avail aught for the accomplishment of the great objects of human existence. Integrity is the crowning virtue—integrity is the pervading principle which ought to regulate, guide, con-

trol, and vivify, every impulse, desire and action. Honesty is sometimes spoken of as a vulgar virtue; and perhaps that honesty, which barely refrains from outraging the positive rules ordained by society for the protection of property, and which ordinarily pays debts and performs its engagements, however useful and commendable a quality, is not to be numbered among the highest efforts of human virtue. But that integrity which, however tempting the opportunity, or however secure against detection, no selfishness nor resentment, no lust of power, place, favour, profit or pleasure, can cause to swerve from the strict rule of right, is the perfection of man's moral nature. In this sense, the poet was right, when he pronounced "an honest man the noblest work of God." It is almost inconceivable what an erect and independent spirit this high endowment communicates to the man, and what a moral intrepidity and vivifying energy it imparts to his character. There is a family alliance between all the virtues, and perfect integrity is always followed by a train of goodly qualities, frankness benevolence, humanity, patriotism, promptness to act, and patience to endure. In moments of public need, these indicate the man who is worthy of universal confidence. Erected on such a basis, and built up of such materials, fame is enduring. Such is the fame of our WASHINGTON, of the man "inflexible to ill and obstinately just." While, therefore, other monuments, intended to perpetuate human greatness, are daily mouldering into dust, and belie the proud inscriptions which they bear, the solid granite pyramid of his glory lasts from age to age, imperishable, seen afar off, looming high over the vast desert, a mark, a sign, a wonder, for the wayfarers through this pilgrimage of life.

A nice sense of integrity cannot, therefore, be too early cherished, or too sedulously cultivated. In the very dawns of life occasions are presented for its exercise. Within these walls, temptations every day occur, when temporary

advantage solicits a deviation from the rule of right. In the discharge of the various duties which you owe to your companions, let no petty selfishness be indulged, no artifices practised, by which you are to escape from your fair share of labour, inconvenience or contribution, or any one deprived of the full measure of whatever he may rightfully claim. Cultivate singleness of purpose and frankness of demeanor, and hold in contempt whatever is sordid, disingenuous, cunning or mean. But it is when these peaceful shades shall have been left behind, and the fitful course of busy life begun, that seductions will be presented under every form by which inexperience, infirmity of purpose, and facility of disposition, can be waylaid. Then is the crisis of the young man's fate—then is the time to take his stand, to seize his vantage ground. If he can then defy the allurements of cupidity, sensuality and ambition, the laugh of fools, the arts of parasites, and the contagion of improbity; then indeed, may he hope,

“In sight of mortal and immortal powers,

“As in a boundless theatre to run

“The great career of justice—

“And through the mists of passion and of sense,

“And through the tossing tide of chance and pain

“To hold his course unfaltering.”

You, my young friends, who are standing at the threshold, and waiting with eager impatience the signal for entrance upon life, must not think that I mean to alarm you with idle fears, because I thus warn you of the approaching conflict. The enraged bull may close his eyes before he rushes upon his foe, but rational courage calmly surveys danger, and then deliberately prepares and determines to encounter it. Apprized of your peril, and armed for the encounter, enter on your course with resolved hearts, and fear not for the issue.

So sweet are the notes of human praise, and so abhorrent the tones of reproach, that it is among the highest efforts

of magnanimity to pursue the straight forward course of duty, without being turned aside by commendation or reproof, by flattery or calumny. Whatever be our journey through life, like the princes in the Eastern tale ascending the mountain in search of the wondrous bird, we are sure to hear around us the confused sounds of blandishment and solicitation, of menace and insult, until with many of us, the giddy head is turned, and we are converted into monuments of warning to those who are to follow life's adventure. Rare, indeed, is that moral courage, which, like a prudent Parisade, closes its ears against the impression of these sounds, and casts not an eye behind until its destined course be accomplished. Rare, however, as may be this excellence, in its perfection perhaps unattainable, there can be no true dignity and decision of character without a near approach to it. Let youth be ever modest, ever deferential to the counsels, the suggestions and the claims of others. But in matters of right and wrong, whatever be the lures, the taunts, or the usages of the world, or whatever the supposed inconvenience of singularity, let judgment and conscience always rule with absolute sway. Carry this maxim with you through life, whatever be the station you are to occupy, or the business you are to pursue; and carry with it another kindred maxim: rely for success in your undertakings, not on the patronage of others, but on your own capacity, resolution, diligence, and exertions. Rise by merit, or rise not at all. Suited as these injunctions are believed to be, to all, they are peculiarly addressed to those among you, who, panting for renown, are resolved to enter upon a public career, and long "to read their history in a nation's eyes."

"How wretched," exclaims the Poet of Nature, "is that poor man who hangs on Princes' favours." Miserable is the condition of every being who hangs on the favours of creatures like himself. Deserve, and strive by desert to

win, the esteem of your fellow men. Thus acquired, it decorates him who obtains, and blesses those who bestow it. To them it is returned in faithful service, and to him in aid of the approbation of conscience to animate diligence and reward exertion. Those too, who engage in public service, are bound to cherish a hearty sympathy with the wants, feelings, comforts and wishes of the people, whose welfare is committed to their charge. It is essential for the preservation of that confidence which ought to subsist between the principal and the agent, the constituent and the representative, that all haughtiness and reserve should be banished from their intercourse. It sometimes happens, that he who has lived too constantly among books, manifests a disgust in an association with the uneducated and unrefined, which mortifies and repels them. This is absurd in him and unjust to them. It is absurd, for he ought to know, and know well, those for whom, and upon whom, he expects to act—they constitute, in fact, one of the first and most appropriate objects of his study; and it is unjust, for not unfrequently under this roughness which shocks the man of books, is to be found a stock of practical information, in which he is miserably deficient. Banish, then, all superciliousness, for it is criminal and ridiculous. Honestly seek to serve your country, for it is glorious to advance the good of your fellow men, and thus, as far as feeble mortals may, act up to the great example of HIM to whose image and likeness you are made. Seek, also, by all honest arts, to win their confidence, but beware how you prefer their favor to their service. The high road of service is indeed laborious, exposed to the rain and sun, the heat and dust; while the by-path of favor has, apparently, at first, much the same direction, and is bordered with flowers and sheltered by trees, “cooled with fountains and murmuring with waterfalls.” No wonder, then, that like the son of Abensina, in Johnston’s beautiful Apologue, the young ad-

venturer is tempted to try the happy experiment of "uniting pleasure with business, and gaining the rewards of diligence without suffering its fatigues." But once entered upon, the path of favor, though found to decline more and more from its first direction, is pursued through all its deviations, till at length even the thought of return to the road of service is utterly abandoned. To court the fondness of the people, is found, or supposed, to be easier than to merit their approbation. Meanly ambitious of public trust, without the virtues to deserve it; intent on personal distinction, and having forgotten the ends for which alone it is worth possessing, the miserable being, concentrated all in self, learns to pander to every vulgar prejudice, to advocate every popular error, to chime in with every dominant party, to fawn, flatter and deceive, and becomes a demagogue. How wretched is that poor being who hangs on the people's favor! All manliness of principle has been lost in this long course of meanness; he dare not use his temporary popularity for any purposes of public good, in which there may be a hazard of forfeiting it; and the very eminence to which he is exalted, renders but more conspicuous his servility and degradation. However clear the convictions of his judgments, however strong the admonitions of his, as yet, not thoroughly stifled conscience, not these, not the law of God, nor the rule of right, nor the public good—but the caprice of his constituents, must be his only guide. Having risen by artifice, and conscious of no worth to support him, he is in hourly dread of being supplanted in the favor of the deluded multitude by some more cunning deceiver. And such, sooner or later, is sure to be his fate. At some unlucky moment, when he bears his blushing honors thick upon him, (and well may such honors blush!) he is jerked from his elevation by some more dexterous demagogue, and falls unpitied, never to rise again. And can this be the lot of him who has been

here trained to admire and love high-minded excellence—who has been taught by high classical authority to regard with the same fearless and immovable indifference, the stern countenance of the tyrant and the wicked ardor of the multitude, and who has learned from a yet higher and holier authority, to hold fast on “whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, to abhor that which is evil and cleave to that which is good?” Believe me, however, this is no fancy picture. The original may be found in the world every day. Nor will it surprise those who have had occasion to see how the vain heart is swoln, and the giddy head turned, how honesty of purpose and manliness of spirit, are perverted by popular applause. It is but the first step that costs. Once yield to the suggestion, that a little deciet or prevarication, a slight sacrifice of principle and independence, a compromise of conscience in matters not absolutely fundamental, may be excused, when the immediate gain is obvious and the end in view important, and the downward path becomes every day more and more smooth, until, in its descent, it reaches the very abyss of vulgar, trading, intriguing, electioneering, office-hunting politicians. If in this lowest depth a lower deep can be found, none of us, I am sure, have the curiosity to explore it.

But is Integrity sure to meet here its merited reward?—Unquestionably not. If it were, and the fact generally known, there would scarcely be room for choice, and men would be honest from the want of a plausible temptation to be otherwise. But it is not too much to say, that, in general, Integrity has a tendency to promote the interest of him who pursues it, and it is therefore recommended to our adoption by prudence, not less than by principle.—Success in the acquisition of any extrinsic object is necessarily uncertain, since it depends on contingencies which

cannot be foreseen, and which, if foreseen, are frequently beyond our power. It is not in mortals to command success. No talent, no courage, no industry, and no address, can be certain to affect it. But when it is attempted by cunning, disingenuous means, it is usually rendered more difficult of attainment, because of the complexity of the scheme, and the risk of detection and counteraction. Honesty, in the long run, is therefore the surer policy. It is impossible to thrive without the reputation of it, and it is far easier to be honest indeed, than to cheat the world into the belief of integrity where it is not. The crooked stratagems, the arts, toils, concealments and self-denials, which are necessary to carry on a successful imposition, are far more onerous and painful, than all the duties which a life of probity enjoins; while the consciousness of an upright deportment, diffuses through the whole man that security and serenity, which infinitely outweigh all the advantages of successful cunning. Nor in recommending a spirit of Independence, is it intended to proscribe the acceptance of friendly aid, freely tendered, and won by no mean solicitation. Children of the same common family, we are bound to help each other in the trials and difficulties of our common pilgrimage, nor should we ever be too proud to receive from others that assistance, which it is our duty to render to them. Now such aid is not only more likely to be bestowed, but comes with far greater effect, when there has been a manly and sustained effort to do without it. The spindling plant which has always been supported by a prop, is not only unable to stand alone, but can scarcely be sustained by props when the season of fruit arrives; whereas, the slightest assistance then bestowed on the hardy tree, that self-sustained has always braved the breeze, will enable it to bear up under the heaviest and richest burthen. He who trusts to others must be necessarily often disappointed, and the habit of dependence creates a helplessness which is almost incapable of exertion.

Fancy dwells on expected aid, until it mistakes its own creations for realities, and the child of illusion wastes life in miserable day dreams, unable to act for himself, and confidently relying on assistance which he is destined never to receive.

Deeply rooted principles of probity, confirmed habits of industry, and a determination to rely on one's own exertions, constitute then the great preparation for the discharge of the duties of man, and the best security for performing them with honor to one's self and benefit to others. But it may be asked, what is there in such a life of never ending toil, effort and privation, to recommend it to the acceptance of the young and the gay? Those who aspire to heroic renown, may indeed make up their minds to embrace these "hard doctrines;" but it may be well questioned whether happiness is not preferable to greatness, and enjoyment more desirable than distinction. Let others, if they will, toil up "up the steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar;" we choose rather to sport in luxurious ease and careless glee in the valley below. It is, indeed, on those who aspire to eminence, that these injunctions are intended to be pressed with the greatest emphasis, not only because a failure in them would be more disastrous than in others, but because they are exposed to greater and more numerous dangers of error. But it is a sad mistake to suppose that they are not suited to all, and are not earnestly urged upon all, however humble their pretensions or moderate their views. Happiness, as well as greatness, enjoyment as well as renown, have no friends so sure as Integrity, Diligence and Independence. We are not placed here to waste our days in wanton riot or inglorious ease, with appetites perpetually gratified and never palled, exempted from all care and solicitude, with life ever fresh, and joys ever new. He who has fitted us for our condition, and assigned to us its appropriate duties, has not left his

work unfinished, and omitted to provide a penalty for the neglect of our obligations. Labor is not more the duty, than the blessing of man. Without it, there is neither mental nor physical vigor, health, cheerfulness, nor animation; neither the eagerness of hope, nor the capacity to enjoy. Every human being must have some object to engage his attention, excite his wishes, and rouse him to action, or he sinks, a prey to listlessness. For want of proper occupations, see strenuous idleness resorting to a thousand expedients—the race course, the bottle, or the gaming table, the frivolities of fashion, the debasements of sensuality, the petty contentions of envy, the grovelling pursuits of avarice, and all the various distracting agitations of vice. Call you these enjoyments? Is such the happiness which it is so dreadful to forego?

“Vast happiness enjoy thy gay allies!

“A youth of follies, an old age of cares,

Young yet enervate, old yet never wise;

“Vice wastes their vigor and their mind impairs.

“Vain, idle, dissolute, in thoughtless ease,

“Reserving woes for age, their prime they spend;

“All wretched, hopeless to the evil days,

“With sorrow to the verge of life they tend;

“Grieved with the present, of the past ashamed;

“They live and are despised, they die, no more are named.”

If to every bounty of Providence there be annexed, as assuredly there is, some obligations as a condition for its enjoyment; on us, blest as we have been, and as we now are, with the choicest gifts of Heaven here below—with freedom, peace, order, civilization and social virtue—there are unquestionably imposed weighty obligations. You whom I now address, will, in a few years, be among the men of the succeeding age. In a country like ours, where the public will is wholly unfettered, and every man is a component part of that country, there is no individual so humble who has not duties of a public kind to discharge.

His views and actions have an influence on those of others, and his opinions, with theirs, serve to make up that public will. More especially is this the case with those who, whatever may be their pursuits in life, have been raised by education to a comparative superiority in intellectual vigor and attainments. On you, and such as you, depends the fate of the most precious heritage ever won by the valor, or preserved by the prudence, or consecrated by the virtue of an illustrious ancestry—illustrious, not because of factitious titles, but nature's nobles, wise, good, generous and brave ! To you, and such as you, will be confided in deposit, the institutions of our renowned and beloved country. Receive them with awe, cherish them with loyalty, and transmit them whole, and if possible, improved to your children. Yours will, indeed, be no sinecure office. As the public will is the operative spring of all public action, it will be your duty to make and to keep the public will enlightened. There will always be some error to dispel, some prejudice to correct, some illusion to guard against, some imposition to detect and expose. In aid of these individual efforts, you must provide, by public institutions, for diffusing among the people, that general information without which they cannot be protected from the machinations of deceivers. As your country grows in years, you must also cause it to grow in science, literature, arts and refinement. It will be for you to develope and multiply its resources, to check the faults of manners as they rise, and to advance the cause of industry, temperance, moderation, justice, morals and religion, all around you. On you too, will devolve the duty which has been too long neglected, but which cannot with impunity be neglected much longer, of providing for the mitigation, and (is it too much to hope for in North Carolina ?) for the ultimate extirpation of the worst evil that affects the Southern part of our Confederacy. Full well do you know to what I refer, for on this sub-

ject there is, with all of us, a morbid sensitiveness which gives warning even of an approach to it. Disguise the truth as we may, and throw the blame where we will, it is Slavery which, more than any other cause, keeps us back in the career of improvement. It stifles industry and represses enterprise—it is fatal to economy and providence—it discourages skill—impairs our strength as a community, and poisons morals at the fountain head. How this evil is to be encountered, how subdued, is indeed a difficult and delicate enquiry, which this is not the time to examine, nor the occasion to discuss. I felt, however, that I could not discharge my duty, without referring to this subject, as one which ought to engage the prudence, moderation and firmness of those who, sooner or later, must act decisively upon it.

I would not depress your bouyant spirits with gloomy anticipations, but I should be wanting in frankness, if I did not state my conviction, that you will be called to the performance of other duties unusually grave and important. Perils surround you and are imminent, which will require clear heads, pure intentions, and stout hearts, to discern and to overcome. There is no side on which danger may not make its approach, but from the wickedness and madness of factions, it is most menacing. Time was, indeed, when factions contended amongst us with virulence and fury; but they were, or affected to be, at issue, on questions of principle; now, Americans band together under the names of men, and wear the livery, and put on the badges of their leaders. Then the individuals of the different parties were found side by side, dispersed throughout the various districts of our confederated Republic; but now, the parties that distract the land, are almost identified with our geographical distinctions. Now then has come that period, foreseen and dreaded by our WASHINGTON, by him, “who more than any other individual, founded this our

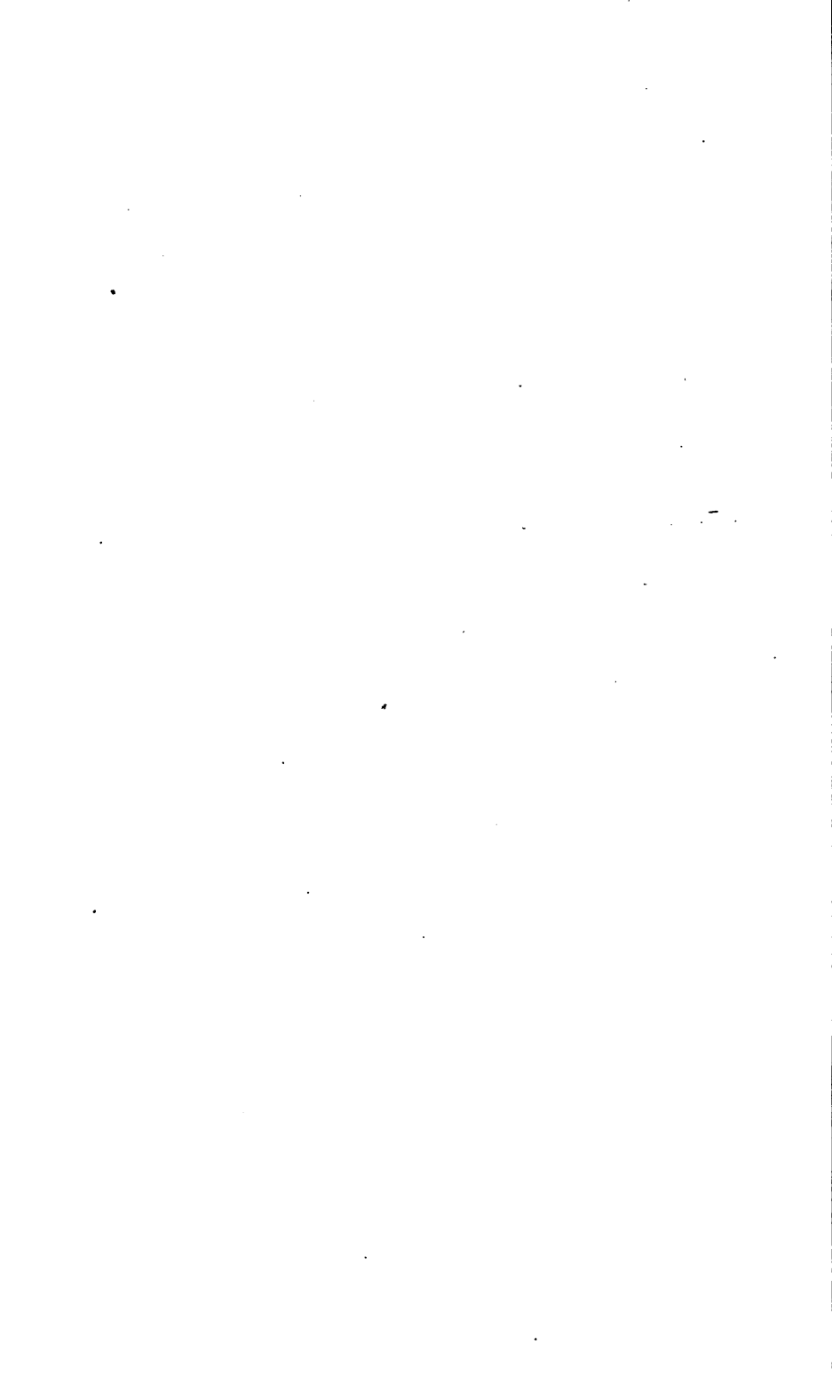
wide-spreading Empire, and gave to our western world independence and freedom"—by him, who with a father's warning voice, bade us beware of "parties founded on geographical discriminations." As yet, the sentiment so deeply planted in the hearts of our honest yeomanry, that union is strength, has not been uprooted. As yet, they acknowledge the truth, and feel the force of the homely, but excellent aphorism, "United we stand, divided we fall." As yet, they take pride in the name of "the United States"—in the recollection of the fields that were won, the blood which was poured forth, and the glory which was gained in the common cause, under the common banner of a united country. May God, in his mercy, forbid that I, or you, my friends, should live to see the day, when these sentiments and feelings shall be extinct! Whenever that day comes, then is the hour at hand when this glorious Republic, this at once national and confederated Republic, which for nearly half a century has presented to the eyes, the hopes, and the gratitude of man, a more brilliant and lovely image than Plato, or More, or Harrington, ever feigned or fancied, shall be like a tale that is told, like a vision that has passed away. But these sentiments and feelings are necessarily weakened, and in the end must be destroyed, unless the moderate, the good and the wise unite to "frown indignantly upon the first dawnings of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together its various parts." Threats of resistance, secession, separation—have become common as household words, in the wicked and silly violence of public declaimers. The public ear is familiarized, and the public mind will soon be accustomed to the detestable suggestions of DISUNION! Calculations and conjectures, what may the East do without the South, and what may the South do without the East, sneers, menaces, reproaches, and recriminations, all tend to the same

fatal end! What can the East do without the South?—What can the South do without the East? They may do much; they may exhibit to the curiosity of political anatomists, and the pity and wonder of the world, the “*dissecta membra*,” the sundered bleeding limbs of a once gigantic body instinct with life and strength, and vigor. They can furnish to the philosophic historian, another melancholy and striking instance of the political axiom, that all Republican Confederacies have an inherent and unavoidable tendency to dissolution. They will present fields and occasions for border wars, for leagues and counter-leagues, for the intrigues of petty statesmen, the struggles of military chiefs, for confiscations, insurrections, and deeds of darkest hue. They will gladden the hearts of those who have proclaimed, that men are not fit to govern themselves, and shed a disastrous eclipse on the hopes of rational freedom throughout the world. Solon, in his Code, proposed no punishment for parricide, treating it as an impossible crime. Such with us, ought to be the crime of political parricide—the dismemberment of our “father land.” “*Cari sunt parentes, cari sunt liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est; pro qua quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere si ei sit profuturus? Quo est detestabilior istorum immanitas qui lacerarunt scelere patriam, et in ea funditus delenda occupati et sunt et fuerunt.*”

If it must be so, let parties and party men continue to quarrel with little or no regard to the public good. They may mistify themselves and others with disputations on political economy, proving the most opposite doctrines to their own satisfaction, and perhaps, to the conviction of no one else on earth. They may deserve reprobation for their selfishness, their violence, their errors, or their wickedness. They may do our country much harm. They may retard its growth, destroy its harmony, impair its character, render its institutions unstable, pervert the public mind, and

deprave the public morals. These are, indeed, evils, and sore evils, but the principle of life remains, and will yet struggle with assured success, over these temporary maladies. Still we are great, glorious, united and free; still we have a name that is revealed abroad and loved at home—a name which is a tower of strength to us against foreign wrong, and a bond of internal union and harmony—a name, which no enemy pronounces but with respect, and which no citizen hears, but with a throb of exultation. Still we have that blessed Constitution, which, with all its pretended defects, all its alleged violations, has conferred more benefit on man, than ever yet flowed from any other human institution—which has established justice, insured domestic tranquility, provided for the common defence, promoted the general welfare, and which, under God, if we be true to ourselves, will insure the blessings of Liberty to us and our posterity.

Surely, such a country, and such a Constitution, have claims upon you, my friends, which cannot be disregarded. I entreat and adjure you then, by all that is near and dear to you on earth—by all the obligations of Patriotism—by the memory of your fathers, who fell in the great and glorious struggle—for the sake of your sons whom you would not have to blush for your degeneracy—by all your proud recollections of the past, and all your fond anticipations of the future renown of our nation—preserve that Country, uphold that Constitution. Resolve, that they shall not be lost while in your keeping, and may God Almighty strengthen you to fulfil that vow!







SCULPTED BY JOHN SANDBIN - 1880.

I am yours very sincerely & respectfully
Jos: Caldwell

REV. JOSEPH CALDWELL, C.D. LL.D.

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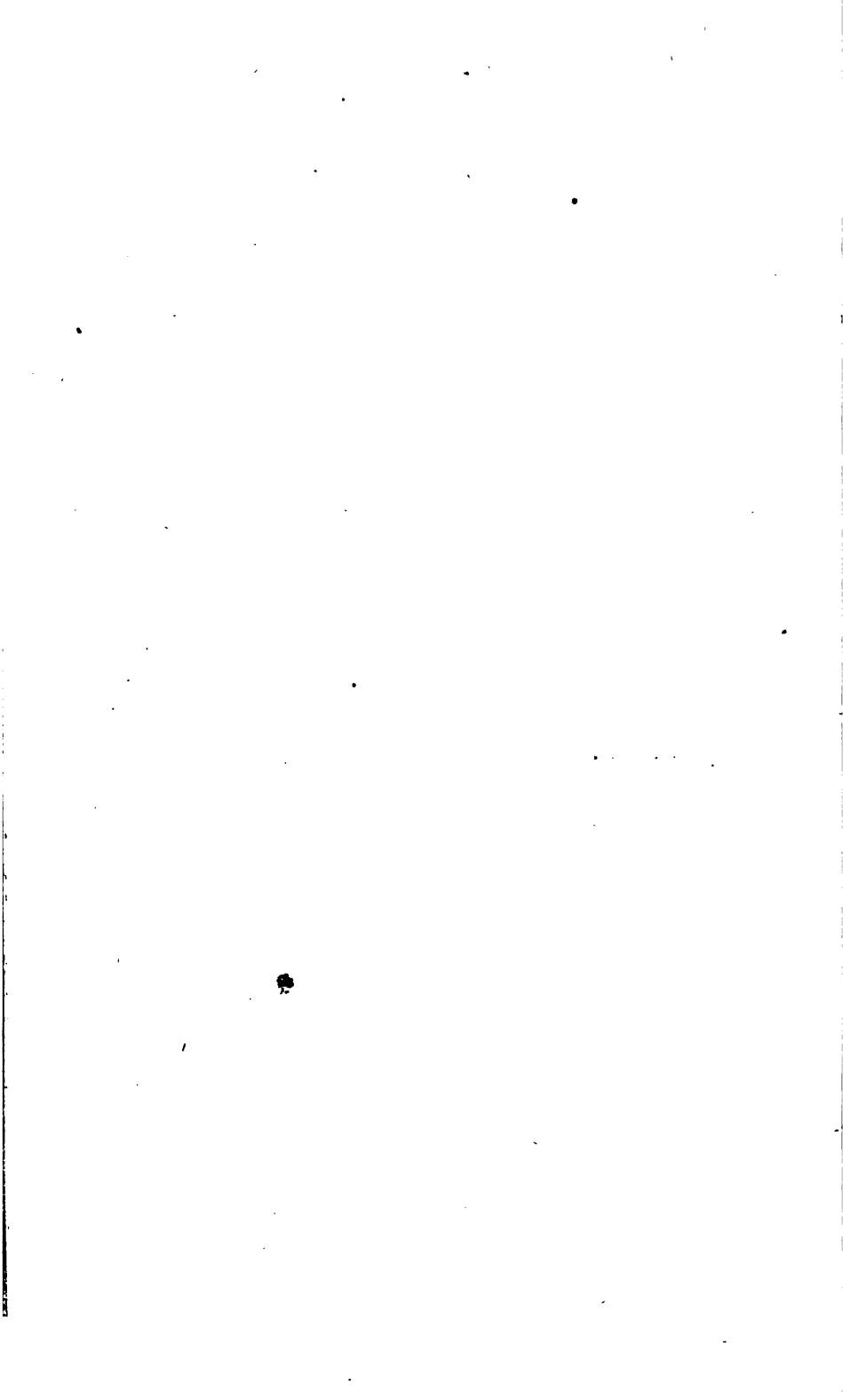
AUTHOR'S PREFACE

REV. JOSEPH CALDWELL, D. D.



Don't forget to send me a copy
for Volume

AUTOBIOGRAPHY
OF
REV. JOSEPH CALDWELL, D. D.



AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

THE Edict of Nantes was revoked by Louis XIV about the year 1684. The well known consequence was that 500,000 French Protestants left their country to look after settlements among other nations, and in other parts of the world, where they might enjoy the rights of conscience, and the same immunities and prospects for themselves and their families as were common to other subjects or citizens of the governments under which they should live. One of these emigrant families was that of Lovel. They first passed from France into England, and continued there for some time, in the exercise of manufacturing skill. At that period, the colonies of America, now known as the United States, were fast filling up from different parts of the British empire, and Europe. The head of this Lovel family did not continue very long in the vicinage of London, before he concluded to transplant himself with such capital as he possessed, which, it would seem, was not insignificant, to a spot which he selected on Long Island, towards its western extremity, and not far from Hempsted Plains, and near Oyster Bay. Here he purchased an extensive farm. The land was of good quality, and being faithfully cultivated, yielded annually an abundance for the necessaries and comforts, and all that was desired beyond these for the enjoyments and respectability of people who classed with the substantial mediocrity of the country. With what total abstraction and absorbing interest did my good old grandmother, when I was a boy of twelve, sit and pass in review through the details of her early years, while she was growing up under the fostering guidance of her venerable parent. He was, it would seem, of mellowed affections and patriarchal habits. I shall give a specimen of one of these conversations:

GRANDMOTHER. My father was considered a man of strong mind. His person was large, his expression tempered of gravity, affection and truth, on which the eye rested with confidence. He was often cheerful in aspect and intercourse, but he was always under the chastening influence of piety. He had learned to understand the doctrines of the gospel through the stern constructions of Puritanism, as it has been distinctively called in England. In France, people of this description went under the name of Huguenots.

GRANDSON. Huguenots! That's a strange name. Why were they called Huguenots? What is the meaning of it? I suppose it is some nickname, by the sound of it.

GRANDMOTHER. It probably was. But I do not know its origin or its meaning. They were persecuted so cruelly that they escaped out of France by thousands, to find subsistence and settlements as they might in other countries. My father and his connexions got to the sea coast and went over into England. They were people of property. Some made purchases of houses in London, where they died without heirs. We were told of this some time afterwards, and might have inherited the property, but my father was either unable or too regardless of the matter to attend to it, and time ran on until by the statute of limitation the claim was barred. Some have said that even now, if the claim could be clearly substantiated and conducted through the forms of law, a large number of houses once belonging to my uncle might possibly be recovered by our family, and if they could, we should all be rich enough.

At this I remember that my little heart bounded, and I became full of inquiries.

GRANDSON. Well, Grandmother, why cannot that be tried? Is it not worth while? You say it was a vast property, how many houses were there said to be?

GRANDMOTHER. I have heard of a considerable number. My uncle was a bachelor, and is said to have owned a whole side of a square, consisting of valuable buildings.

GRANDSON. Has any attempt ever been made to recover the property? If not, would it not be well to make a trial at least, and, if it should fail, we should but be where we are.

GRANDMOTHER. Yes, my child, if there were anybody to do it. But it would imply a great deal of trouble, and time, and expense, and it has been thought best to give it all up.

This was a theme on which I delighted to dwell, with the fond idea that if all that property could be reclaimed, it would be the consummation of our good fortune.

GRANDMOTHER. After my father's emigration to this country with his family, he brought up his children to the habits of industry, piety, and economy. But though he held the reins of domestic government with a steady hand, a spirit of harmony and affection was constantly diffused through all our feelings. We stood in awe of our father, and feared to transgress, but it was accompanied with such a confidence as to strengthen and deepen our love for him, and was attended with a prompt and willing acquiescence in his wishes. Our mother, too, seemed to look up to him with such deference to his opinions and wishes as showed that she felt him to be her guide and protector as well as the partner of her bosom. One singularity that marked his feelings and opinions was that he never suffered meat to be eaten in his family.

GRANDSON. Not eat meat! That is strange. I never heard of any body that never eat meat. What reason could he have for not eating meat?

GRANDMOTHER. He was wont to tell us that the grant to live upon the flesh of animals was certainly in the scriptures. But he considered it to have been made in consequence of the fall of man. Hence, he deduced that to abstain from it was more in conformity with original innocence and perfection, than was the practice of subsisting upon it. He never permitted an animal to be slaughtered for his own use or that of his family. He always had large and luxuriant pastures, kept numbers of cattle and such other animals as could be useful to him upon his own principles, provided plentifully for their sustenance and shelter, had an abundance of milk, butter, cheese and fruits, wheat, corn, and vegetables. In short, all around him, both in the house and in the field, was in the best condition.

GRANDSON. But, if he sold one of these animals to be killed by another person, would not that be much the same thing as killing it himself?

GRANDMOTHER. So he felt, and he never would consent to sell one if he knew it was to be slaughtered. Some animals we keep now without ever thinking of killing them for food, such as horses, dogs, cats. He put all upon the same footing.

GRANDSON. But, Grandmother, you eat meat now, and your family were all brought up to it.

GRANDMOTHER. Yes, but I never tasted it till I was married, at 21 years of age. Your Grandfather had no such opinions and habits, and I fell in with his customs and those of his family. To the present day, however, I care very little for meat. My father and all his family were thought as healthy as any people in the country, and seemed to enjoy themselves as much. We were apt to be esteemed peculiarly happy among our neighbors—always harmonious, plain in our manners, affectionate, looking up to our parents with veneration and love, and prompt acquiescence in their wishes. We were taught to be scrupulous in the economy of time, and to feel unhappy unless we were busy about something useful. We had a family library and were educated to an enlargement of the mind, by reading and improving conversation. My father was careful in directing the habits, dispositions and intelligence of his children. Their ingenuity was continually called out for the accomplishment of such work as was assigned to them. If a difficulty occurred, the answer to an application for aid was, "Now try your skill. Is there no way you can contrive for effecting what you want? The greatest advantage in your doing that, is in finding out the best method." This would interest us in our work, and if we succeeded, we were applauded and encouraged, and this gave us fresh heart for our occupation.

GRANDSON. Why, Grandmother, you seem to have been very happy

GRANDMOTHER. We were usually so. My father was fond of sacred music. He brought over an organ with him, and kept it in his family. He could play upon it himself and sang well—at least we thought so. Most of my brothers and sisters learned from him in succession as they grew up. At the hour of morning and evening prayers, the family all assembled in the room where it was kept, and united their voices with its elevating tones in praising God. It is the very same organ which your uncle John Lovel has in his house, and on which you have heard his sisters play, who are now living with him.

Such were the accounts which my kind grandmother would detail to me of old Mr. John Lovel, her father, and his peculiar habits, opinions, and mode of life in his family. It can scarcely be supposed that I am professing to describe these things in the expressions used at the time. In the course of my boyhood, they were renewed at different times. They were subjects on which I delighted to hear her converse, and they made indelible impressions upon me. The circumstances and events have been here given in such terms as have occurred.

As there is something curious in the events of this family, I shall go on to mention some of them as they arise in my memory. One of my grand-aunts married a man by the name of Wright. They lived in Philadelphia, unhappily, I was told, for he became a sot, and she was a woman whose pride, it would seem, was not a little towering. When she saw her husband thus degrading and brutalizing himself, she felt the mortifying effects in all their force. After his death, she resolved to continue no longer in the city, and planned an expedition for herself, which few women would think of carrying into effect. She took passage in a ship for London, with such property as she possessed, declaring in the loftiness of her spirit, that she would throw herself upon the resources of her genius, determined to seek eminence in a different sphere. She took lodgings in the city of London, and began with tasking her invention to devise some scheme of eminence. I know not the different methods she might have thought of for accomplishing her purpose, if more than the one by which she in some degree succeeded employed her ingenuity. Her name came before the public as the inventress of the art of making waxen figures of full size, with a strict likeness of the persons for whom she took them. This implied more art and skill than would at first appear. The material was to be purified in the first place, and, if the object required it, be brought to a perfect whiteness. It must then be mixed with some substance that would give to it the proper complexion. It must not be liable to become soft by any temperature of the atmosphere, nor be liable to crack by cold, after being formed into a shell of no great thickness. Her mode of taking a likeness was different, as I am informed, from that which

is now practiced. I believe that waxen figures are now made by first forming a mould of some other material, and then casting the wax into it. She chose an apron of some fine stuff, such as cambric, and having so prepared the wax that it should be sufficiently soft to yield and spread with the warmth of the hand, she gave it a first rude shape by holding it in her hands and moulding it rudely with pressure applied at discretion, while, as a portrait-painter, she looked at the countenance and consulted the visage and features she would imitate. She then placed it under the apron and brought it to the perfection she wished by acting with one hand applied to the interior of the waxen shell, against the other on the outside with the cambric between the hand and the surface. This gave it a natural aspect, by exhibiting the pores of the skin, and prevented the glazed and cadaverous appearance of which most persons complain in such wax work as we commonly see. Her faces had the reputation of being not only striking likenesses, but of being natural in expression and agreeable in effect.

This invention was new, I was told, both in bringing waxen likenesses to the full size, and in the whole manner of producing them. From being totally an unknown personage she rose into notice, her name was regarded with distinction, her resources became ample, and even the court treated her with favor and respect. Something of the effect which it had upon her I have had occasion to remark from letters written by her at the time to one of her sisters, Mrs. Willis, in America, in which she often inculcated upon her the favorite maxim by no means to fail "in maintaining the dignity of her character." It was even curious as being sometimes interjected with as little connexion with the subject as Cato's "*Delenda est Carthago.*"

Sometime after this the American war commenced with the Declaration of Independence. Aunt Wright, it would appear, was an ardent Whig, and not inactive in her country's cause against the measures of Great Britain. She engaged in political matters, and acted the part of a spy, for which it is probable every American will not respect her the less, by writing letters to some of our leading characters, giving information of the measures of the British Government that the Americans might be on their guard and prepared for events. In this she was at length discovered, and orders were sent to her to leave the kingdom. She passed across the country with a view to embark at Bristol. While there, walking in the street, she made a misstep, fell, and her ankle was so much injured as to terminate in mortification and consequent death.

My aunt Wright left two daughters—to one of them, by the name of Elizabeth, she bequeathed the greater part of the wax work. This had grown to be extensive by continual additions in London, where it had

been kept for exhibition. It was transported to New York, where it was set up by my aunt* Betsey, in spacious rooms, to which all visitors were admitted by the payment of a quarter of a dollar each. I was then a boy living in Elizabethtown, sometimes at Princeton, and sometimes at Newark, getting my education in the academies of these places. Aunt Betsey had married a man by the name of Platt, who was a trifling character, and who persecuted her much. She at last became scrupulous in regard to the correctness of keeping waxen figures for exhibition, and her conscientious feelings upon the subject disturbed her so much, that she resolved to part with them. The figures were numerous, the drapery was often rich and costly, and the whole workmanship had at length amounted to no small expense. She determined, however, to get rid of it, and sold it at a reduced price. This happened at the time of my arrival in North Carolina. I remember the feelings I had on the occasion. I was then young, had traversed alone a wide interval to place myself among strangers and in circumstances wholly new. I saw the wax-work which was carried through the country, it being at that time a perfect novelty to the public. I had often seen it before in New York. It seemed as if when I looked on those lifeless figures they fell little short of raising in me the fullness of those joyous transports that spring up in our bosoms, when, in a land of strangers, we suddenly turn our eye upon former acquaintances, or upon friends near to our hearts. My aunt had come to think it a profanation for her to set up those figures and likeness of the dead for show. I could not suppress a revolting indignation at the thought of the degradation and disgrace which they suffered in being carried about the country to be shown in taverns and to tasteless people, who knew nothing of the events and associations with which they were connected in my bosom, who were unqualified to feel or estimate the merits of the work, the characters and circumstances exhibited, or the skill necessary to the production. Some of those figures might be considered as emblems of fallen greatness. They had been among the first works of the kind in London. They had directed upon them something like the admiration which men feel for original genius. They had even received the visits and fixed the eyes of the most refined courtiers. Now, they must be officiously introduced and studiously recommended to the most debased subjects that crowded common bar-rooms, or who surpassed but little the animals they bestrode.

My grandmother's maiden name was Rachel Lovel. She married a Mr. Harker, who was a minister of the Presbyterian Church. What was the extent of his education I know not, though there is reason to think it was respectable. It is likely, however, that he had not been originally

* Or Cousin?

given up to a literary course from his first boyhood. It is more probable that he commenced life with manual labor, and that it was not till he was advanced towards manhood that he undertook to study for the ministry. He settled with his family at a place called Black River, in Morris county, New Jersey. His residence was on the edge of a hill along which the public road lay for nearly a mile. His house was a mile from Flanders, a pretty village, so called because it had been remarkable for quarrels and violence in the first settlement of the country.

I was told that my grandfather Harker was remarkable for personal size and strength. By this circumstance, combined with vigorous mental faculties and fidelity in his profession as a pastor, we may account for the opinion, said to have been prevalent, that the people in that vicinage looked to him as their leading character in counsel and in action. He was experienced in all ordinary practical business. It was said of him that he would go into the harvest-field and cradle more wheat in a day than any other man in his part of the country. In his ministerial labors, both in and out of the pulpit, he was ever regarded with high estimation and confidence by his congregation. Their feeling was, that in the lot which had fallen to them of having him for their minister, they were a flock that enjoyed the privileges of a vigilant and faithful shepherd, able to counsel them in their secular interests, and to guide them to a better world through the embarrassments, trials, and conscientious struggles of the christian warfare.

My mother's name was Rachel. She married early in life, a physician, who was also young, and just commencing practice. His name was Joseph Caldwell, whose father had emigrated from the northern part of Ireland. Of three children I was the youngest. My brother's name was Samuel, and the difference of our ages was almost exactly four years, for we were born in the same month. The birth of a sister intervened, but she died very young.

I have been informed that my father never admitted that he was correctly treated in the provision made for the children of the family. There was property, it seems, but none was left to him. His father was professionally a farmer, who looked to his children, as they grew up, to assist him in the support of his family and the enlargement of his property. My father was of a more delicate system than the rest of the children, and with this peculiarity united a taste for study and mental occupation. On this account he was no favorite with my grandfather, who estimated his children chiefly by their efficacy in advancing his wishes. He was slighted therefore, and by no means gratified with desired opportunities of improving his mind at schools or academies. To this he was obliged to submit till he arrived at an age when he was able to help himself forward

by becoming useful to others. He struggled through his difficulties into the medical profession, and probably his father thought that as he had contributed nothing to the making of his estate, he ought not to think himself aggrieved if he was left without a share of it.

He contended vigorously with his difficulties, and was successfully rising in his profession. But, as he was alighted one day at a mill either having accidentally stopped, on being expressly solicited on the emergency to aid, he joined the too small strength that was present in replacing a mill-stone. The force which he exerted was too much for him, he ruptured a blood-vessel in his lungs, a profuse hemorrhage instantly followed, a rapid consumption was the consequence, and in a few months he sunk into the grave. The death of my father, his burial, and my birth followed one another in the order here mentioned in three successive days. It was impossible, therefore, that my eye could ever have looked upon him. The woes of that period to my excellent mother must have been felt by her to have reached an awful consummation, through alarms often renewed, hopes disappointed, and sorrows protracted for months before the dark and trying events in which they terminated. She was still in early life, and just at the season when the prospects of her husband, herself and her commencing family were brightening, a terrible cloud, dark and dense, suddenly settled upon them, at length fell with sweeping violence, and after reiterated assaults left my poor mother, widowed with two orphan infants, prostrate and powerless amidst a scene of desolation.

My father died on the 19th of April, 1773, was interred on the 20th, and I was born on the 21st, at Lamington, in New Jersey, near Black River, a branch of the Raritan, a mile from old Germantown. My father's remains were deposited in the burying-ground annexed to the Presbyterian Church near that place, as appeared by the inscription on his tomb, which I visited a short time before leaving that country to become a resident of the South.

What were the circumstances of my mother through my infancy and for some years afterwards, it is of little consequence to state, if I knew them. I have some early recollections that spring up in an insulated manner, but how they succeeded one another, it were vain to give any account. I have not the vanity to suppose, while I am writing this account of my life, that any part of it is to be thought worth the time necessary to its perusal. It is for every one to do with it as he pleases. Should the wish to know occur to any one, he has the opportunity of such reminiscences as are sufficiently distinct to be ascertained in what the writer sincerely intends to be a register of truth.

The date of my birth, it will be observed, makes the earliest scenes of my life cotemporary with the Revolutionary War, or with events immedi-

ately connected. I remember the calling away of men from their homes to serve in the armies, and the spirit that was manifested in the countenances, conversations and actions of people around me. The marching of troops, a circumstance which I always hurried out to gaze on with sensations rising almost to transport; the fife's shrill and piercing notes, stirring into reckless activity emotions of which I had scarcely known myself capable; the drum rattling into madness every impetuous feeling that thrilled along the nerves or swelled in the heart; the plumes and epaulettes of the officers; the measured and stately march; the burnished arms, the extensive columns presenting the movement of a vast and powerful body pervaded by one animating spirit—all made impressions upon me at the time which in some of their characters may be considered as peculiar to the years in which they were produced, and which therefore could never have been attained, but at the period when they were actually acquired in the experience.

At one time I was under the care of my grandmother at Black River, on a farm left to her by her husband, the Rev. Mr. Harker, at his death. She was far advanced in years, and I extremely young. Her kindness, as is usual in such cases, is in my recollection, but there is reason to think that my misconduct was too much for the total suppression of her feelings. Both she and my mother were ever faithful in giving me all the instruction in their power, and especially in training me to the knowledge of God, of the scriptures, to pious sentiment and religious duties.

One night, alone in bed, I well remember being occupied in my thoughts almost to solicitude on our manner of breathing; and the next morning the first question I put to my grandmother after seeing her, was, how it was possible for us to breathe in the dark? I do not know whether this was an inquiry involving too much for her philosophy, or for my supposed capacity of understanding such explanation as she might have been able to give, but no answer was returned, and it was not till many years afterwards that I found the solution of my difficulty.

My grandmother would sometimes, though I believe not often, become much vexed with my behavior, and when her anger was roused, the emphatical expression that she uttered with a shake at once of the head and hand was, "*I'll break you.*" This threat, understood literally by me and not in the figurative sense in which she used it, was to the last degree terrible. It presented her to my imagination as placing me across her knee, and snapping me in two, as she would dry sticks or a pipe-stem.

We lived in the neighborhood of a man who took great delight in terrifying children. I would sometimes wander in quest of amusement, till being near his house, he would suddenly present himself, writhing his muscles into all the distortions expressive of fierceness, his eyes flashing

with rage, and his motions indicative of the most desperate purpose. It never failed to inspire me with an instinctive promptness for flight. The effect was a complete panic, and precipitated me into so intent an economy of time, that to have incurred a loss of it by looking over my shoulder was felt to be perfectly inadmissible, and in such cases I never discovered the distance which had been widening at every step between myself and the enemy, until I was fairly within the threshold of my grandmother's door. I relate this little circumstance, to show how some minds will prefer that kind of gratification which arises from making themselves objects of terror, though accompanied with the utmost detestation, before the pleasure that springs from communicating happiness even to children, and being the objects of their love. It was not long before I left that seat of my earliest years, and it never failed to return upon my recollection as a little paradise, but the corner of it, to which this man was contiguous, seemed ever haunted by a demon with whom abhorrence in my imagination was inseparably connected.

At another period of these earlier years, my mother lived in Amwell, a part of the State to which I believe she had retired from the confusion and exposure of the warfare near Elizabethtown, New York, and other parts of the maritime country. While we remained here for two or three years, my memory had stamped upon it much of the agitation and discussion that prevailed respecting the proceedings of Congress, of the States, of Great Britain, the armies and battles, the raising of militia for short service, and the enlisting of troops during the war, the successes and disasters of the contending forces. One fact continues vividly in my recollection, that a man of our neighborhood, in respectable circumstances at home, who had served with the militia, suddenly made his appearance among us after an absence of some months, barefoot and his clothes hanging around him in rags and tatters. I looked upon him with astonishment, and probably with the more, because I was totally unable to comprehend at that age, the possibility or necessity of his being in such circumstances.

We afterwards lived in Newton, and then in Trenton, but in the latter of these places not till very near the close of the war. While we resided at the former, a body of men arrived from the American army and the scenes of its active movements. Newton was the court house village of Sussex county, and high in the interior of the State. Dates I cannot recollect, but it is not improbable that it was at the period when the conflicts were going on in lower Jersey. While I was mingling among these men, one of them gave me a fife. I went home in ecstasy, but great as it was, it was doubtless not more exquisite than the annoyance was to others, as I soon had occasion to learn; though I could by no means compre-

hence how my notes should not be as enchanting to them as they certainly were to myself.

At a subsequent period, young Symmes lived at Newton, distinguished afterwards for the theory which he wished to establish, that the earth was a hollow sphere, and that the interior part was accessible near the poles. His father had married my mother's sister, so that we were cousins german.

When my mother lived at Trenton near the conclusion of the war, the portion of my life which passed at that place has ever recurred as unequalled in interest by any other in my recollection. Our situation was exceedingly pleasant on elevated ground at the southern limit of the town. The distance was but small to the bank of the Delaware. Being then about 9 or 10 years of age, it was my custom to stroll as far as the river. The prospect up and down its expanse was always enjoyed with exquisite delight. Above were the falls, where the river dashed, and roared and foamed among thickly scattered rocks, displaying a scene of incessant action, animating at once to the eye and the ear. On the opposite bank was a mill almost always in motion. There the current of travellers passed by a ferry, on the principal route between New York and Philadelphia. Below was spread to the eye a long reach of the river, passing the village of Lamberton, otherwise called Trenton landing, where such masted vessels and other craft as were fitted to the navigation, were seen in motion, or presenting a scene of activity at the wharves.

The banks and fields were covered with verdure of a velvet softness. A refreshing coolness was diffused through the limbs by the shade from above, and the earth through its grassy carpeting. A smooth margin of composted sand between the bank and the water, diversified with its pure whiteness the beauty of the scene, while the spirits were quickened into gaiety, by the light motions of the numerous birds, by their shrill and varied notes, and by the fish that often bounded wholly above the water, or sported upon the surface.

It is hoped the reader will excuse this indulgence of a lightness, if not puerility of recollections, which have often recurred through the successive years of a life, much indebted to them for their cheering brightness, when interspersed, as they often have been, through scenes of more grave and sombrous aspect, and connected at last with the present approximation to its close.

One of the latest events of this last residence at Trenton, was the wintering of a body of troops, on a beautiful field, separated from us only by the public road leading to the ferry already mentioned. The interest of this circumstance was much abated to me by their being French, in consequence of which, though I was often permitted to stroll among their

tents through the day, I was cut off from every attempt at communication with the men, or of learning any thing from their conversation. One of the impressions most deeply engraved upon me, was from the nightly calls of the sentinels, which I scarcely ever failed to hear, at whatever period I happened to be awake, through some months of their continuance in that encampment. Though it was a mere formal hail, with the inquiry briskly addressed, "Who goes there?" and the answer, "Friend," yet, upon my ear it never failed to strike with a stirring and portentous sound. One day as I stood near the door looking towards the river, my eye was caught with a sudden gleam, and was almost as quickly directed to the spot from which it proceeded. Two men appeared fully in view on an ascending ground, beyond a small ravine, engaged with rapiers in furious combat. The sun was shining with all the splendor of a clear day, and the glittering of their swords seemed to convey, as by an appropriate language uttered to the eye, the flashings of their rage. I stood in momentary expectation to see one or the other sink before me with a fatal blow. Such were their eagerness and their quickly renewed passes at each other, and yet so prolonged was the combat, that I became petrified with horror that grew upon me till I was almost overpowered, and I believe I turned away for relief, for I certainly did not see its termination. I soon inquired, however, and was informed that neither of the combatants was killed. Two officers, who were friends, had taken a walk, and began to amuse themselves by stopping now and then, merely to try their dexterity in fencing with their swords. At length, it seems their feelings became too ardent for mere sport, and finally mounted to mortal fury. The difference of their manner was apparent. Both were skilful; but one never retired from the footing that he took, while the other, with a sudden thrust, instantly bounded off from his adversary who almost as speedily followed with another thrust in return. I was told that the one who had practiced the elusive movement, had not succeeded in the strife equally with the other, for he had received several wounds, and began to be weakened with the loss of blood, but had inflicted scarcely any injury of consequence. The action was witnessed immediately at its beginning from the camp, a file of men was dispatched, and before any fatal mischief occurred, they were put under arrest.

✓ I think it some time after this, that my mother removed her residence to Bristol, a place lower down the Delaware, and on the Pennsylvania side of it. Here I went to an English school, which has always returned upon my remembrance with peculiar pleasure. I believe the reason of this was, that the master had an excellent talent for exciting good dispositions in his boys towards himself, and to their studies. The affection I felt for him has never been extinguished to the present day, and I have no doubt it would continue unchanged to whatever number of years my life might

be protracted. I was never kept to closer diligence in business, and yet my heart reverts to it as among the most interesting and happy periods of my life. Here I first engaged in the study of arithmetic, and though I found much perplexity in some parts of it, which would probably have created aversion under some teachers, I returned to every effort with fresh determination and courage. This feeling seemed to be inspired and maintained whenever my eye was turned upon the man. He was ever intently occupied in the various business of a numerous school; was prompt and dextrous in every thing; his expression was that of kindness and a wish to improve us to the utmost; and, as this was apparent in his features and his actions, a corresponding sentiment seemed to be transfused into the bosoms of his pupils, carrying us at once into a concurrence with his wishes, and an efficacious improvement of our time.

But a circumstance which most impressively marks this period is, that here I began, for what reason I know not, to turn my thoughts with greater earnestness than before, on the subject of religion. A part of the time while I was in this village, my mother went abroad leaving me to board at a neighbor's table. This was so near that one of the rooms in the house which she occupied, was left open for my use both day and night. Here I slept, and whenever I chose, to this I retired. I got hold of a religious book, and finding it give me pleasure in the reading, young as I was, and fond as most boys usually are of play, though I was much at my own discretion, I would sit or traverse the room alone, reading with an interest that grew so as utterly to preclude every disposition to stop.

While I was living in Bristol, an incident occurred which might have had some connection with this subject, though it had certainly happened so long before this disposition to religious thought, that in my reflections since on that part of my life, the one circumstance has no appearance to me of having induced the other. On a Sabbath my mother was absent, having left my brother and myself at home. She had always made it a particular point in our domestic education, to pay a strict regard to the faithful observance of the day. I strolled down to the wharf for amusement, and while there, my brother and another boy came down, and a very small boat lying at the place, he immediately got into it to go out upon the water. I immediately became eager to accompany him, and urged for his permission. This he refused, but while he was at the head of the boat I sprang down upon the stern. My weight was not much, it is true, but the descent being some four or five feet, and the boat small, the impetus sunk the end on which I alighted some distance down into the water. It instantly mounted up again, and as I was in a toppling condition, and unversed in humoring the motion, I was tossed overboard and sunk, I know not how many feet, to the bottom. The pains of death of course com-

menced with the first expansion of my lungs, and they produced the utmost efforts of such action in all my limbs as nature prompted, for I knew nothing of swimming. Though I was very young, my reflection was all alive to the thought that a few moments were to end my existence here, and send me into another world where my destiny was to be forever fixed. The anticipation was horrible, and my struggles were convulsive. The distress both of mind and body was complete; my thoughts were hurried, but they were distinct; and it may well be supposed that no words can give utterance equal to their intensity. After a while I found myself approaching the light. Having by my struggles risen to the surface, I found myself prevented from sinking once more, which, had it occurred, I have no doubt would have ended the strife. My brother had placed himself at the spot where I went down, and as it happened, I at last rose so near that he caught me by the hair and saved my life.

When I was lifted out of the water and placed upon the wharf, I found myself surrounded by a number of persons, who had hurried to the place. The water spouted from my mouth and nostrils for some time with renewed efforts, until I began to feel relief. My sensations of joy for the deliverance of which the moment before I had been utterly hopeless, were as exquisite and indescribable as the horrors I had suffered. What a vast transition of feeling, and in how brief a space! It is a species of knowledge, which in its peculiarity and extent, is probably unattainable but by the actual experience. Though I was obliged to be supported or carried up to the house, a flood of pleasure even to exultation was pouring through my mind, not apparent, as I think, to others; but not the less real in intensity and continuance. I was given to the repose into which my exhausted powers naturally sunk through the afternoon, and when I awoke it was to see my mother gazing on me with concern. At once shame and self-reproach must have been the expression that met her eye, for they were felt in all their force. I was dumb before her. She saw that it was enough for every purpose she could wish, either of warning or reproof; and so tender was she to my feelings, if not wholly engrossed with gratitude for my preservation, that for a long period not a word escaped her lips in my hearing, even to impress upon me lessons on the subject, which she probably saw there was no occasion to illustrate or enforce. For this I loved her the more; for though I was quite young, I ascribed her forbearance to what I have ever since believed to be the real cause: that she could not bear to lacerate me, when the wound upon my conscience was probably almost too deep for my fortitude to bear. I had been guilty of disobedience, but this was not the most aggravating circumstance. It was on the Sabbath, and I was violating it by going in quest of amusement wholly at variance with the reverence with which she had ever taught me

to regard it. If she had inculcated upon me that what had happened was a judgment from God upon my transgression, it would have been unnecessary, for with this impression it already rested upon me in all its force.

These feelings gradually faded from my thoughts, and I lived as heedlessly as ever. It was long afterwards that the pious affections of which I have already spoken, became quickened in my bosom, nor am I conscious that the event just related had any connection with them. I was left in solitude at the time, and taking up a religious book, I began to read—my feelings were excited by it, and they grew into ardor and intensity. I deserted all amusement, my reading, my reflections, and a gratifying sense that I might be engaged in the service of God, and have his approbation, abstracted me from any of the diversions that occurred to my thoughts. As to the cause, it was perfectly inexplicable, and always has been. My experience at that time was probably one of the first fruits of the pious sentiments which my mother had instilled into me from the first dawnings of reason. She was not there, but the spirit of God was doubtless fostering these principles in my heart, and educing them into action. I have since reverted to the few days which passed in these circumstances, and with these emotions alive in my bosom, as among the most grateful seasons of my life, and ever to be remembered with renovated satisfaction.

It could not have been long after this, that we removed to Princeton. Here all the circumstances and events of my life begin to appear less severed from one another by parts wholly forgotten, or obscurely remembered.

Here was a grammar school, and from the interest which I had been thought to show in reading books, my mother was counselled by others finally to adopt the measure which herself had meditated, of giving me a liberal education. The difficulty most felt by her, was the want of such an income as would sustain her in the undertaking. I think it was in the year 1784, when I was eleven or twelve years of age, a Latin grammar was wanted, and upon inquiry none was to be had. We waited some days for a supply, but none came; and as the determination was made, I grew impatient. One of the boys by the name of F—n from Charleston, being told of the circumstance, and having one on hand that was nearly worn out, gave it to me. I refused it till I was told that he had two. I always felt grateful to him, and through the whole time of our acquaintance in the school, for three or four years, he manifested a peculiar friendship for me. The grammar was instantly and eagerly commenced, and as eagerly prosecuted till finished. Corderius, *Selecta e Veteri*, *Selecta e Profanis*, Cæsar, Greek Grammar, Greek Testament, Mair's Introduction, Virgil, and perhaps some other books, followed in as quick succession as intent application could compass them. Before my entering college, our family remov-

ed to Newark, where my studies were continued under Dr. McWhorter. The school at Princeton was made an object of special regulation, and sometimes of personal attention by Dr. Witherspoon. From this circumstance it certainly had singular advantages in comparison with other academies. The modes of instruction, and the exercises in which we were trained, were derived immediately from Scotland. Of their superior efficacy I was made sensible by the change. Dr. McWhorter was undoubtedly among the best teachers in the country, but in the class with which I was united, every thing came so easily in my preparations that it was almost like sport, while the rest of the class appeared to meet as much difficulty as they could well vanquish. This difference proceeded from the different methods of teaching, and I was perfectly convinced of it at the time.*

While living in Newark, my religious impressions were often renewed. I do not know that I resisted them, or strove to repress or shake them off, but it is very certain that at various times when they had been felt with much force, alarm of conscience, and a dissolving tenderness of affection, they soon passed away, and I became as careless and thoughtless as ever. Dr. McWhorter's preaching was generally animated, plain, and practical. He sometimes became warm, pointed the guilty sinner to the coming wrath, showed the danger of growing hardened to all the considerations of God's mercy, his justice, his judgments, the means of grace, the opportunities of improvement, the uncertainty of life, and the dread consequences of failing to prepare in this time of discipline and probation for the eternity that is to follow. I would come home like the wounded hart with the arrow in my side, but it dropped off, the wound closed, and it ceased to be remembered.

* For instance, in Mair's Introduction, it was the custom at Newark to write down no more than two or three of the longer sentences in good Latin, as a weekly task on Saturday. But in Princeton we were required to come prepared every forenoon, while we were in that book, to read the whole of one of those sentences in English, and then to repeat it with equal promptness in correct Latin; and our daily appointment was two or three pages. Nor was this all. For we then closed our books, and the instructor would read to us long portions of the English, and we must give the Latin of them without mistake in word or grammatical construction, from beginning to end. We were not permitted to do this tardily, for not only if any one made a mistake, but if he did not move directly forward in enunciating the translation of the sentence put to him, the next below was to pronounce it forthwith, and if successful, was to take his place. To a student trained to this vigor and promptness of thought and action, what difficulty could there be in writing down two or three sentences in corrected Latin as a weekly exercise, as was the custom at Newark? We wrote Latin versions weekly at Princeton also, but we had nothing but English sentences given, and we selected the Latin words and phraseology for ourselves. This taught us the use of words agreeably to their true classical import. Dr. Witherspoon had various methods of drilling a class. One was to run a verb,

That our present life is a state of trial, I think must be confirmed by every man who reflects upon the events of his own, and the manner in which they affect his mind, his affections, his outward condition, his mental character, and his prospects of the future. Limiting our views even to our earthly existence, it is probationary. Our choice of action, at any moment when it is made, must be regulated by the past, that we may choose our object, be intelligently directed to it, whatever it may be, and that the means may be adapted to its attainment. In regard to every one of these we are liable to error, and of course to be corrected by experience. This experience constitutes the very thing which is called providence by those who believe in God's administration of all human affairs. It sets before us all the variety of ends which it is possible for us to choose, and we are subjects of trial, when we make our selection. If our end be a good one, it is one evidence in behalf of our virtue. We have been put to the test on this point, and it has terminated in our favor. If we limit ourselves to instrumentality which God approves, it is another proof that our affections and views have been formed as we have advanced through the past upon correct principles. If conscience has been our authority, it is still further testimony, by evincing both that it is enlightened, and that we have listened as became us to its voice. If at any time we have not adhered to these principles, it proves no less that we have been in fault, and as we have had our choice, we must properly sustain the consequences. One great consequence must ever be, that if we have chosen ill, and refuse afterwards to be chastened by its external effects, or the reproofs and interdicts of the heart, we give proof that we are, so far at least, ripening

as it was called, through all the successive tenses and moods in the first person, then in the second person, the third, and so on: and to repeat the imperative, the infinitive, the gerunds, supines, and participles. This was done in both voices. Another exercise consisted in comparing an adjective, and keeping up the repetition of the degrees, through all the genders and cases in both numbers. A third method of giving us skill was to carry an adjective through the cases and numbers in company with a masculine substantive, then with a feminine, and then with a neuter. A fourth exercise was to come prepared daily with a page or two of vocables, so as to give the English for the Latin, and the Latin for the English. In another instance, he would select a Latin verb, and call upon each of us, successively, to give a compound with the meaning, till all the compounds were exhausted. A sixth exercise was made out by taking some verb, as *ago*, having various idiomatic imports according to its connection, and we were required to give examples of its idiomatic uses. This note is subjoined evidently not for all readers, but as a suggestion to teachers. But these are by no means all the methods of drilling to which we were called. When we first commenced any one of them, we were slow; but the quickness to which we presently attained, was evidence of the improvement consequent upon such practice. The most efficient cause of the high degree of perfection at which scholars arrive in European grammar schools and scientific institutions, is to be seen in the diversity of exercises devised and continually practiced through the whole course of education.

in iniquity, and exposing ourselves to God's disapprobation, to that of all good beings, to our own, and to all the calamities which God has connected with it, in the constitution of his works, and by his positive determination. If it be said that we are the children of circumstances, still it is true that these circumstances are at once the arrangement of God, so as forever to retain us under a complete responsibility for the result as to good or ill which is to be their issue with respect to us. If we cannot choose our condition, or control events, we have our choice of the course we will pursue, so far as sin or obedience to the truth is concerned. This is unquestionable at every step we take, we have the incontestable evidence to it, which is of the nature of fact, the evidence pronounced by consciousness, whenever we appeal to it. The overruling power of the Almighty, then, detracts nothing from our complete responsibility. We are truly and justly probationers, both in our present state, and as to our framing ourselves to the good or ill connected with our welfare or our misery hereafter. He gives us external opportunity of knowing our duty, and having it forcibly urged upon us. He impresses it upon us by his Spirit, in a manner calculated to reform and improve us. This he never would do, were we, who are of wicked dispositions, not in a state of trial, nor susceptible of recovery. Were not this our condition, were we not in a state of discipline and responsibility, but wholly given up to the spirit of disobedience which every man feels to be prevalent within him, our only feelings at all times would be opposition to holiness, and complete abandonment to its motives and the outward expressions of it—our universal intercourse—and a consequent utter despair of heaven, and an overwhelming sense of final consignment to sin and all its woes.

I have indulged in these reflections here, because they are the result of the thought and experience of all those years of my life on the events of which I am now turning a reviewing eye. I can remember many occasions in those early years, in the various places in which they were passed, when my reflections were directed on God, a future state, and the eternal world. The interest I took in them when they were impressed upon me by the scriptures, or by any other cause, was the same in its aspect and species as it has been through later years. The intervals sometimes are apparent as to their cause, and sometimes they seem to have become irrecoverably lost to my remembrance. Whether they had a connection with one another, and by what ties of circumstances, or thought, or emotion as they were successively renewed, it would be impossible for me to determine, though to the Spirit of God who produced them and witnessed all their effects, they are present now as at the moment when they agitated my bosom. Sometimes I would return from church with a heart deeply affected with the considerations presented there of my obligations to God

for his goodness in the ordinary blessings of food and raiment, relations and friends, health and the pleasures connected with it. Conscience impressed upon me portentously the consequences of my thoughtless ingratitude. The prospects of heaven to the good, and of endless misery to the wicked, drove from me for a time every wish for the amusements on which I was commonly intent. The love of God in sending his Son into the world to redeem me from death, and open the way to heaven, combined with all its force in impressing my conscience with the responsibility imposed by this consummation of mercy. My mother was often engaged in giving me religious instruction, and deepening its impressions upon my heart. Sometimes an accident would happen, to set before me the utter uncertainty in which I lived. The death of a neighbor by sickness, or by some sudden accident, the grave-yard, the darkness of night when in solitude, naturally accompanied with abstraction from sensible scenes, and plunging my thought into the spiritual world—every thing of this nature excited in me a sense of religion, a reference to God, and to the danger I was in of being lost forever, if I should die without being made the subject of his saving grace. It was all the striving of his Spirit, to prevent me from being wholly engrossed with the earth, and to educate me in this school of his providence for better and more glorious purposes than the interests and pleasures of a mere earthly existence. An excellent practical writer on "Keeping the Heart" remarks that "Providence is like a curious piece of tapestry, made of a thousand shreds, which single appear useless, but put together, they represent a regular and connected history to the eye."

I am reminded here of an incident which happened at Princeton, but which it did not occur to mention among events there. Among our boyish diversions, it was one to range ourselves in two companies, and having small wagons, to run stages, as we called it, along the street, to see who could pass and leave the others behind. One day we set out in this manner fresh and buoyant in our spirits, six in each company, and pressing the strife of our opposition to the utmost. We presently met a wagon with four horses, and in turning out, we all took the same side of the way. Our company, as it happened, were to pass between the other and the team before us. Our antagonists, thoughtlessly urged to take advantage of the circumstance, suddenly thrust themselves against us as soon as we came by the side of the horses. In the instant six of us were all thrown in a promiscuous heap directly upon the track of the wheels. It happened that the driver was following his wagon at some distance behind, and could do nothing in the emergency. The animals it seems chose their steps so as not to strike or trample on any of us. The wheels were to come next. The movement that overthrew us was so sudden and unexpected that I

had no knowledge of our situation on the ground, and I was so completely under the rest that I could see nothing. In thinking immediately afterwards upon the matter, it appeared to me most natural that I should have waited till the others might have time to rise and release me; and this was my first thought after I was down. But it continued only for a moment. The very next instant I commenced a violent effort of limbs and body at hap-hazard, contracting and tossing in* every direction, so as to disengage myself with a speed that quite surprised me, when I considered the confining pressure which had seemed to forbid all hopes of extrication. By this exertion, those that were above me were thrown off, and no sooner was I released than I sprang upon my feet, and found myself outside of the road, but in such confusion of senses that I knew nothing of the imminent danger I had eluded. I saw, however, the fore-wheel and then the other pass over the ankles of one of my companions. The rest had been saved from being crushed by the same effort which had proved the means of my own escape. The petrifying and awful effect, however, which was produced upon me, may be conceived when immediately afterwards I was told by a boy who saw the whole, that while I was down my neck lay exactly across the route in which the wheel was to run. I was young and thoughtless; but the first reflection that rushed upon me, was, that God in his goodness had saved my life by prompting me in the critical moment to act as I did. I exchanged not a word more with any one, but walked home with feelings sunk as low as a few minutes before they had been elevated. I soon found that every one but my mother knew the circumstance, and they seemed to gaze at me for a time with particular interest. My resolutions rose to a high pitch of strength, that I would no longer live as before, in the neglect of my religious duties. My mother afterwards learned from others the peril in which I had been, for I could not bear to tell her myself. She remarked, as did others, that a deep and settled gloom hung upon me for many days, and my feelings were certainly in accordance with their observation.

There are doubtless incidents in the life of every one, which cannot but appear calculated to produce religious impressions. Even the man who is habitually an unbeliever in a special providence, will probably remember some, if not many, which had their instant effect in filling his mind with thoughts of God, of eternity, and a want of preparation for passing out of the present into a future state. If this be true, it is evidence of the nature of fact, that in our constitution we are destined for immortality. The first references of our minds in instances of danger, or extreme distress, are the language of nature. They may, in after thought, be resolved into baseless notions and superstitious fears, but still it must be admitted that our first suggestions are those of religion, and bear all the marks of being the genu-

ine result of an original determination, to us inevitable, and as certainly natural. Is it to be esteemed a privilege or an honorable distinction to be wholly exempt from them? Then the brutes, in this respect at least, are to be envied by us, for whatever other attributes may be common to them and us, they are most unquestionably devoid of the religious faculty. For my own part, if there be a possibility, ascertained by the actual experience of any one, of a real and total freedom from the apprehension of future responsibility, and the consequences of conscious guilt through past life, when pressed by sudden peril upon the verge of death, it is a peculiarity in which I have never participated, and of which, therefore, I am unable to judge. To meet death with unyielding firmness in a righteous cause, or in inevitable necessity, is not incompatible with the gravest consideration of its ultimate issues. To unite these in our feelings is not only honorable, as something of which the inferior animals are incapable, but constitutes one at least of the most glorious distinctions of man among rational and immortal beings.

My recollection tells me that I have always been susceptible on the subject of religion. This has been the case on occasions of public or retired worship calculated to excite pious reflection and devout emotion, as well as in instances of sudden peril. It is not remarkable, however, that examples of the latter description should have taken the most tenacious hold upon my memory, both on account of their rare occurrence and their deep impressions, and the peculiar vividness of the emotions excited by them. That they were directed in signal mercy, I am perfectly convinced, both from the nature and permanency of their effects.

While at school in Newark, it was usual for us to bathe in the Passaic. On one of these occasions, my companions commenced amusing themselves by running along the ridge of a high sand bank, and jumping from the extremity down a precipice of five and twenty feet, taking care to present their feet in alighting in such a manner as to sink them into the sand that lay loose and sloping in large quantities near the bottom, so as to be stopped gradually by its easy resistance as it was carried before them. I observed their manner for some time, and was prevented at first from attempting it by the height, and the danger of not preserving the right direction of the body and feet through so long a descent. At length, however, I resolved to put it to the trial, and the very failure happened which I had apprehended. They had commenced with small distances, till learning the manner to be consulted, they at length bounded from the top almost to the base. The essay with me was through the whole extent at once, and throwing out my feet too far, I alighted upon the extremity of my body with a shock that struck me breathless. It was attended also with so agonizing a pain in my back that I had no doubt it was broken,

and that it must terminate in immediate death. I had perfect presence of mind, and made some attempts to breathe, but wholly failed. The torture was extreme, both of body and mind. At length I felt cheered by some commencing success, and in about five minutes I found myself able to rise upon my feet. The pain abated afterwards in a manner that perfectly surprised me, and once more I seemed to have been snatched, as in a moment, from the jaws of death. My companions who had been appalled at the accident, were rejoicing over me as we walked home, which I at last found myself able to do, though it was at least a mile from the river. Once more I was for some time oppressed with a melancholy feeling at the thought of the danger I had escaped; but I am ashamed to say, that it was accompanied more with the pleasure of safety, than with gratitude for the deliverance, or with steadfast resolutions to live prepared to die.

While I continued in Newark, my progress in the languages was uninterrupted. I never experienced any thing like reluctance or dissatisfaction in relinquishing amusement for study. I do not know that I was ever whipped for not getting a lesson. My usual feeling was that of gratification, when the hour for reciting arrived. The consequence was, as may be supposed, and as all my recollections suggest, that my teachers and myself were mutually satisfied. And though I have seen much of the indisposition of youth to prosecute knowledge when it was put into their power, and they had nothing else to do, I have never had such a comprehension of aversion from it, as their experience would probably convey. Nor is this by any means to be supposed singular. In every school or literary institution where numbers are assembled, there are always some, if not many, of whom the same thing is true. Yet, we are compelled to believe that there are others, if, indeed, they do not make the majority, to whom it is equally mysterious, how it is possible so to delight in study, as to have their richest enjoyments broken up, if they could not be employed in it.

Having been much engaged in the instruction of youth, it has sometimes occurred to remark to such as could not be induced to an improvement of their opportunities, that there were hundreds of minds to whom, if the avenues of knowledge and its enjoyments could be thrown open as liberally as to them, it would be estimated as a consummation beyond which there was no earthly privilege, which, even in their youthful imagination, they would be so visionary as to have a conception of or a wish for. Upon some, perhaps, a beneficial impression has been left by the thought; but upon others there was every reason to know that it was followed by no other feelings than those of offence and irritation, which they would unhappily deduce from a supposed, or at least a chargeable, invidious contrast to their disadvantage between themselves and some others who were far beneath them in the world.

We at length removed from Newark to Elizabethtown. At this place too much time was lost to me in advancing my education. I believe all thought was for some time relinquished of extending it further. My time passed away in such boyish amusements as casually offered, or my invention contrived. After a year or two had passed in this manner, which I cannot but consider as wholly wasted as to all important acquisition in knowledge or culture, Dr. Witherspoon, who had known me in the grammar school at Princeton, passing one day in the stage through Elizabethtown to or from New York, mentioned to my mother the subject of continuing my education. He encouraged her to do so, if it could be effected, and he dropped some hints that if it could be no otherwise accomplished, himself would become my patron and see that by some means I should be sustained through a collegiate course. When he was gone, I was told of it, and in a moment, though I had nothing before me at home but an unlimited swing in pastime, my heart bounded at the suggestion of renewing the prosecution of my studies. My recollection presents to me no influence of motives springing from the ultimate consequences of a liberal education. The engagements of a school had always been interesting to me, and it was the gratification that was to be renewed, that filled me with eagerness for the object. I therefore teased my mother with inquiries respecting the precise manner in which the Doctor had spoken of the matter, and the probability there might be that my studies might be resumed. Some weeks, if not months, passed away in this uncertainty, and at last I received information that the determination was becoming conclusive in my favor.

Before leaving the subject of my residence at Elizabethtown, a circumstance occurs as having furnished another instance of the manner in which Providence decides our destination through life by incidents upon which the future seems to turn as upon the nicest pivot. In traveling along a road, the difference may appear of little import as to which of two roads we may happen to take when they are presented to our choice. The region we are to traverse, may seem to be much the same, especially to our early youth, which knows not how to look at distant consequences. And yet, by the decision made at the moment, the whole scenery and circumstances of our future days may become totally different from such as would have ensued had the determination been different. While living, then, at Elizabethtown, my mother spoke to me one day of a thought which had entered her mind of putting me into a printing office, to be brought up to that business. After asking the particulars as to the manner of making provision for it, and the man with whom I was to be placed, I was captivated with the plan, and urged it with much persuasion to as speedy an issue as possible. It would seem that I felt no real complacency in the

idle life that I was leading, nor any wish for its continuance. The occupation of a printer was connected with literary pursuits, and my education was sufficiently advanced to enter upon it with advantage, and to furnish a foundation for an enlarged and liberal prosecution of the profession. Such were my views, even at that early period. Every day I asked my mother how the plan advanced, and when I was to begin. She told me that she had proposed the matter to one who carried on the business and published a newspaper in the town, that he had promised to consider it, and was to give an answer. At length she received one in the affirmative: but no sooner was it reported to her, than she revolted from the project, and informed me that her mind was now in such a state that she never could consent to it. At this I was not a little surprised. I argued, and even remonstrated: explained to her the comprehensive prospects which I hoped to push with success, beyond the mechanical parts of the profession, that I had no idea of limiting myself to humble and contracted views in the business, and that though it was easy to do this, it was with a view to the ulterior and higher opportunities it would put in my power, that I was induced to wish for it. When her dissent was communicated to the one who had consented to take me, he complained not a little, and I urged this also as a reason for concluding the affair by letting me go to him. All, however, was of no avail. She had thought more fully, and could not be reconciled. Her reasons on which she conclusively rested, did credit to her sentiments, whether those reasons were in accordance with fact and truth or not. She finally objected to the profession, as having a tendency to harden and pervert the heart, by engaging it in the temptations and wiles of controversy. The facility of publication to one who commands a press, she said, was a snare, inducing him to give vent to passions, and to commit himself in sentiments, which, if sustained, must injure his moral principles, and, if relinquished, must expose him. It seemed to her as if a familiar and mechanical dealing in types was attended with the consequences of recklessness and hardihood in regard to true sentiment, as sailors who eminently live in the midst of dangers are most regardless of conscientious restriction, and learn to "sin as with a castrope." It was with such impressions as these, whether experimentally true, or only baseless apprehensions, that she explained her purpose as it became finally settled on the subject, and the plan was relinquished. It was so long after this that Dr. Witherspoon proposed the continuance of my education through a complete collegiate course, that the thought of my becoming a printer, from which I had been so critically diverted, had dropped out of sight. But when I look back at these events, they contain to me a striking exemplification of our being wholly at the disposal of Providence, while at the moment we may think of nothing else than of determining every

thing by our own choice, or by the opinions and wishes of our friends. This conviction is more apt to be made upon us, when on the turning point we took a direction that changed the whole aspect of our life, than in cases of minute and scarcely observable consequence. But there is no difficulty in seeing that by one of these two, or by a succession of them, we may come to be placed in circumstances equally decisive upon an extensive scale, or in producing such a contexture of our character and condition at last, as must exhibit those little events or influences to have been of the utmost consequence, though while they were passing they scarcely attracted our notice, and have long been forgotten, and become to us as though they had never been.

Had the bestowment of me upon the printer been fulfilled, the whole train of circumstances and events ensuing upon it must of course have been different from the course into which the disposition by Dr. Witherspoon gave a direction. The time came when the conclusion was announced to me, and that the stage was forthwith to carry me to Princeton. It was in the spring of 1787, and I was fourteen years of age. A few hours brought me to the place, but they were filled with a profusion of thoughts, as to the immediate and more distant prospects that were now opening before me. The course of trial already past, of the species of employment before me, was of such a nature as not to harrass me with distrust, and though at an age when we may be supposed to feel but little concern about the subsequent years, still distant, when the arrival at manhood will call upon us to act for ourselves, my anticipations then extended to them. The tender premonitions which my mother had sometimes poured into my bosom, while the tears flowed down her cheeks, she would cast her eye forward, and endeavor to impress me with the dreadful uncertainty of the course I might choose, and the destiny that awaited me in the world, had not been wholly lost upon me. I had long been idle, and in the habit of looking for nothing but pastime, but this occasioned no regrets, and I looked forward to assiduous application as the certain and proper consequence of the change. Upon this my purpose was fixed, nor was a doubt felt that it was to be instantly and constantly realized.

On arriving at Princeton, I went and offered myself to Dr. Smith for examination, and being told that it would be proper for me to see Dr. Witherspoon, I went to him at Tusculum, a mile in the country. He subjected me to trial on one or two sentences in Mair's Introduction, and then said that I must enter the senior class in the grammar-school. This was a mortifying disappointment to me, for I had counted on joining the freshman class in college. I did not realize the effects which a long absence from studies had produced, and when called on to make Latin, rushed upon it as though I had just left it off. I instantly experienced

the consequence, in the tardiness of my recollection, and the blunders I committed. I told the Doctor I hoped soon to renew my attainments, which had been much impaired by long intermission, and that if allowed to enter the freshman class, I should prove able, by a close application, to take standing with it. He replied that even if I could, it would be under so great disadvantages that it was by no means advisable; that I was young, and that he wished me to have every opportunity of being a good scholar. He said that by taking a stand upon entire equality with my classmates, I should, by a sense of strength, go on with pleasure in the prosecution of my education, instead of being disheartened by difficulties, and liable to have the standard of my feelings lowered, and of becoming reconciled to inferiority, by resorting to the reflection that I ought to be excused on account of my disadvantages. The Doctor was unquestionably right, for though my feelings suffered mortification at the moment, I never doubted afterwards of the solid benefits resulting from his determination. As it was, I was graduated under nineteen years of age. Of what importance was it to finish an education sooner? And even had my years been such at the time, as to have brought on a completion of my collegiate course at one, two, or three and twenty, instead of nineteen, the consequences of laying a substantial foundation, of growing into proper confidence and decision of character, by habitual success through every occurring difficulty, and the greater maturity of faculties by the delay, would have been amply sufficient to recommend the retrocession of a year at the commencement of the course.

In the autumn of 1787 my class became freshman in college, and at the end of four years afterwards we were graduated.

A residence of four years and a half at that time of life, may well be supposed among the most interesting of all that I have ever passed. It is usual for men liberally educated to remark, though certainly it is not without exception, that the collegiate part of life is often an opportunity of experimental comparison, more happy than any other at least of equal length. As it happened with me, the impression is confirmatory of the truth of the remark. It was not, however, without deduction in ample sufficiency to do credit to another conclusion which men have been apt to pronounce when life is drawing to a close, that when the whole with all its diversity of coloring, is looked at with a retroverted eye, it is questionable whether the enjoyment or the suffering has predominated.

When a concurrence is here expressed in the opinion that the years of a collegiate life are among the happiest we ever enjoy, an explanation seems necessary to prevent mistakes of most pernicious tendency. Whatever may have been the experience of others, my own tells me that if any instances occurred, and my recollections sadly remind me there were some

in which I sought after enjoyment in violations of the laws, it was not to these that I have ever held myself indebted for that portion of time which was to be credited as happy. If there was any pleasure in the moments of clandestine acts of mischief, it was so mixed in my bosom with the agitations of apprehended discovery, and dread of the consequences darting across my mind, that I should be far from recommending it on the score of enjoyment. But in all such cases, and I most heartily thank the guardian Providence that was over me that they were not very numerous, as soon as they were over, the gloomy cloud which they brought upon my feelings, and which they kept hovering around me for many days, was enough to decide most unequivocally that much was to be set down on the page, not of profit but loss. Things of this kind which I did during the four years of college residence, were happily "few and far between," so that the effects produced in each instance in tormenting me, had some opportunity of fading out of my recollection, before another could act with any temptation upon me. But the miseries more or less, which in compliance with solicitation, I sometimes consented to inflict upon myself, were only a portion of the consequent suffering. They have never returned upon me but with pain, and always to beget most sincere wishes that they had never happened. Then with the sensations from which they have sprung, have been their unfailing retribution, when they have been resuscitated in my remembrance.

Undoubtedly it were well if all who have lived in colleges were similarly affected by similar causes. We have occasion to hear persons reverting with no small amusement, if not with delight to the disorders committed by them while students of college. It is true, there are sports of a description to be recollected and related without regret for any ill in their nature or their consequences. But every act at variance with the laws or the regular business of a body of youth assembled for education; especially such violations as spring from a spirit of insubordination, opposition, or ill will to instructors; all schemes of mischief by night or by day that have for their object to produce tumult, disrespect towards the persons or the authority of teachers, or to dissolve energy in the prosecution of business by diffusing levity, or contempt through the transactions of it, can never be remembered by a man of correct feeling without compunction and chagrin. And if these be the sentiments excited in the bosom, the feats in which they were exhibited must drive out all the pleasure that can be supposed to proceed from the renovation in our bosoms of the lawless and pernicious hilarity which was once permitted to revel in our early years, at the expense of all that was valuable in the habits, dispositions and attainments of our primitive education.

I have sometimes seen persons advanced in life, manifest no hesitation

in recounting by the hour the disorders of their college life, in the presence of youth, and even of their own sons, who were themselves students at the time, and passing a vacation at home, or incidentally in company with them at the very site of the college, or perhaps some other place. The manner, the loud laugh, the arch and contemptuous jeer at the instructors upon whom, their tricks, if not their gross and shameful outrages, had been directed, all acted as a charm upon the thoughtless being in whose hearing they were recited with so much glee, and he would return into the college, charged with a spirit of mischief, and with a disposition to beard the faculty, or his tutor at least, up to the very brim. What consequence is so likely to be heard of next, as that the young man has become a bad member of his community, that he is remarkable for idleness and dissipation, that his time is passed in furtive acts of disturbance, noise, interruption of others, sallying out in the night upon excursions of intemperance, debauch, and such heroic deeds of irregularity as will serve to fill up hours of transport in the recollection, to the delight of the company around him in future years. But these are not all the consequences of which he may expect to hear. The most probable result is, that the youth may present himself at the door of his parents, to stun their ears with the intelligence that he has been ejected from the place of his education upon one or more charges of ill behaviour, so violent as at once to make it impossible for him to be retained any longer in the college, or so incorrigibly persevering that all attempts to reclaim and save had been exhausted upon him in vain. Then commences another process no less dangerous to principle, if it can be made successful. It consists in presenting the picture of the wrongs, oppressions and prejudices of those with whom he had to deal, in such coloring and form, as to win upon the affection to which he appeals, turn over the ignominy of the case to the authors of this foul treatment, and thus be initiated in the methods of commencing with ill, and triumphing by address. It is infinitely better never to speak of the disorders of a college life, whether once committed by ourselves, or reported by others, but with the most decided disapprobation. This is preferable in all society, but especially in that of the young. Let such disorders never hope to find countenance or palliation with those who wish all the guaranty possible to the prospects of their children, or to the efficacy of good education in the country. Too many are apt to indulge the weak imagination, that to expect or insist that a youth shall refrain from disorderly or rakish practices, would be to make him miserable. The better method is to impress him with a conviction, and rationally and affectionately to make it, as far as we can, the true and internal result of every experience, that every escape from temptations of this nature is to be estimated as an escape from the miseries inseparable from a corruption of the heart and degeneracy of habit.

Nor let it be thought, that when a youth strays from a regular deportment, he is to have sentence harshly pronounced upon him as though his case were highly penal. The difference is wide between displacency on our part in their extravagances, and an imputation of total abandonment. But through the whole range of this interval, while we are confining ourselves within it, we may still feel a portentous gravity towards their follies, show earnestness in the connection of their mistakes, frown upon their excesses, and pronounce with severity upon their transgressions. In doing all these pertinently, we need never be afraid that we are detracting from their enjoyments by withholding them from immoralities, but for our encouragement feel most confidently assured that just in proportion as we can become successful, we are building up and establishing their true instant as well as permanent happiness.

I have been led through these reflections by a recurrence to the events of my collegiate course. Their importance to the young, to parents, and to society, it is hoped may apologize for their protraction. Through the whole of that period of my life, my habits were marked with diligence, punctuality, and good will to my teachers, and the habitual satisfaction, I believe I may say enjoyment, which is the natural consequence of these. To this an exception must be made in an event, some circumstances of which it may not be amiss to relate. Toward the latter part of the time that I lived in college, it became customary for the steward to furnish a milk diet alternately, with coffee at supper. At length it was observed that our supper table was served with bread and milk only, and it came to be understood as a rule finally adopted that nothing else was in future to be expected. Numbers were dissatisfied, and the discontent soon spread until it was supposed universal. This was signified to the steward, but it produced no alteration. The feeling grew to a higher pitch, and it was resolved that measures must be taken to obtain redress, as we thought proper to call it. The method seemed to us moderate enough, for it consisted in nothing more than entering the dining room in the utmost order, in the usual manner, taking our seats regularly, and in forbearing to touch the food. This we continued to do for some two or three days, at the supper hour. We begun at length to grow tired of it, and as it seemed likely to continue, the students became violent, and when the door was opened for admission, threw in a volley of stones, which, as the tables being long, stood with their ends towards the door, raked them, as mariners would say, fore and aft. The whole, as is obvious, was a foolish piece of business, but the last was most unwarrantable, and ought to have been too shocking to be perpetrated except by a vulgar mob. Certainly it was unworthy of a society of young gentlemen of the first order, as we professed to be. Could we all have been transferred back to the grammar-school,

there would have been no perplexity in selecting a penalty fitted to the nature of the act. But under the system received in colleges, we had doubtless made good our claim to the credit of posing the Faculty as to the method of treatment best adapted to the emergency. To give way before violence and outrage, especially with combination, was not to be entertained for a moment. The difference between coffee and milk was a trifle in comparison with the consequences to the government of the institution. We were told that Dr. Smith would personally attend at the table with us in the evening, to take his supper with us, and observe the quality of the milk, against which complaints had been raised. This was a new thing, and as we certainly had a high respect for his person and character, it was to be tried whether this would not be enough to bring us back to propriety. The experiment failed, for, while the vice-president and tutors took their meal, the students touched nothing.

I find, however, that in reciting these pitiful details, I am engaged in matters that may well be supposed to become sickening to the reader, as they do once more to myself, and as they always have done whenever they recurred. And yet I have known many an insurrection raised in a college, the merits of which were not more respectable than this. The following day, it appeared that our offences were felt to have risen to such a height, that the Faculty could not reconcile themselves to the ordinary transaction of business with us, and our recitations were broken off until the order of college could be restored, and respect to the authority and laws re-established. The general feeling now showed itself agitated and tumultuary and, as is usual in such cases, stories began to be circulated, either totally groundless, or distorted into provoking shapes from some little fact or expression wholly indifferent in its nature which might have actually occurred, but all ingeniously and strangely calculated to excite the reigning resentment especially against the steward. And now we continued to be tossed for sometime in a manner to most of us more and more distressing, while others evidently exulted in the pretext it furnished them for every species of disorder, and the protection from punishment, under the plea that the best students of the college were involved alike with themselves. It was not very long before that which the wisdom of the Faculty had hoped and anticipated, really happened. Most of us began really to wish to find out some mode of extricating ourselves from the perplexity which continually grew more painful and embarrassing. This was probably soon understood by Dr. Smith, and many of us rejoiced when we were told that he would be willing to see a few of us in his study. A number were speedily selected, and I happened to be one. We presented ourselves before him, and he spoke to us at once with gentleness and a dignified reserve. He asked if the students were prepared to come to

an understanding with the Faculty upon any terms which could be consistent with the re-establishment of authority and the government of the college? I well remember the shameful manner in which some of us met this inquiry. And I among the rest assumed to talk swellingly, and to endeavor to show with what wrongs the students had been provoked, particularly by the steward. But I have done with the narrative, when it is further said, that we took care not to leave the Doctor without accepting the assurance he gave, which was that if we were all prepared to submit to the laws of college, and return to order, it would be acceded to on the part of the Faculty, and the business of the classes might immediately re-commence, without further notice of any thing which had been done. It was a grace on the part of the Faculty, which some of us were very far from having a right to expect. For my own part, without any disposition at this moment to extenuate any absurdity in which I was implicated while that shameful behaviour was going on, I was certainly not forward in participating in the disorder or promoting it. It is enough for me, and ever has been, when the remembrance has haunted me, to think of the bold and flippant airs which I assumed in that interview with Doctor Smith. To these I was very much prompted by my standing before him as a representative of the students; for as to myself, my feelings and conduct were habitually respectful, benevolent and ingenuous. But the plea with which I then sustained myself has never since that period been able to mitigate the bitterness of my mortification, or prevent the ardent wish that my conduct on that occasion could be merged in a complete and perpetual forgetfulness.

I have already related some incidents from which I narrowly escaped with life. Another of this nature happened, while I was a student of college. It was usual for us to resort on summer evenings to a particular spot in a small stream about a mile distant, where the water was deeper than common, to amuse ourselves in bathing. A sort of raft had been constructed by nailing planks to cross pieces of timber of no great size, so that a surface of plank was made on both sides of the pieces. It was not very buoyant, and would scarcely bear the weight of one individual without sinking under him. The sport consisted in hanging around it by the hands, thrusting it about, and turning it over in the water. Several were engaged in this manner, and the amusement became so inviting to me, that though but just beginning to swim, I felt persuaded it would not be difficult to keep myself above the water by means of the raft. I watched my opportunity and reached it, but no sooner was this effected than it was turned into a vertical position by the rest, and the next moment came down and covered me as under a trap. I was instantly drowning, and again began to think myself wholly lost. Happily, one of

the company perceiving that I was gone and no more made any appearance, pushed away the raft from above me, observed where the air made its appearance that was escaping from my lungs as they filled with water. Being well grown and strong, and I but small and light, he seized my arm and bore me to the shore.

Rescued once more from those dying agonies, I ought to have been filled with gratitude for the mercy which had spared and preserved me. But these feelings had at the time but little place in my bosom. Through the earlier part of my residence in college, religion found scarcely any admittance into my heart. It appeared to be a subject of which I had become exceedingly thoughtless. The studies to which I was daily called, the amusements of athletic exercises, of walking through the fields and into the country, the pleasures of growing knowledge, the occupation of castle-building, to which my imagination was much addicted, the gratifications of success in my recitations, interspersed with occasional failures, calculated to mortify and vex me, the pleasures which I took care generally to secure, of success in the public examinations, the buoyancy of spirits which immediately followed, seeming almost to lift me up from the earth, from a sense of release from every restricting tie of business, and the opening of a vacation of some weeks' continuance in unlimited freedom, constituted altogether a series of occupations that left no time or disposition to think of God, the giver of all my blessings, of the sinfulness of my heart, the uncertainty of life, or the prospects and destinies of eternity.

But I was not left to proceed uninterruptedly under this engrossing influence of the world. In the full enjoyment of health, I attended breakfast one morning as usual in the steward's hall. It was customary to supply our table with buck-wheat cakes, which being light, well made, and bespread liberally with butter, were counted by many of us, at least, among our luxuries. I had heard it suggested a little before, that those cakes were prepared upon extensive copper surfaces, for the purpose of greater expedition. No attention, however, had been paid to the report. It was heard as an idle story, which some might propagate to discredit our fare. After having eaten about half a breakfast, my eye was caught with what I thought a pretty lively appearance of greenness upon the cakes, of which I had been freely participating. A sudden horror thrilled through my whole system. In a moment a full conviction seized upon me that I was poisoned, and that I was beginning to feel the fatal consequences. I rose almost tottering from the table, asked permission to retire, and from that instant through the space of several weeks, considered myself as hastening speedily to the grave. Never did an unhappy being continue more harrassed and agitated from day to day with symptoms of dissolving strength and a rapid decline. I sometimes suspected, for I wished to think

that I was under mistaken apprehensions of having received poison with my food. But though it did not fail to occur that others ought to have been affected similarly to myself, it was impossible with all the efforts of which I was then capable, to shake off the impressions that haunted me, that various feelings to which I was subject, indicated a hastening dissolution. A dismal melancholy brooded over my mind, as a dark and lowering cloud. My whole aspect and manners must have soon appeared altered to others, though I had an extreme reluctance to let my situation be known, and strove much at first to carry a countenance of cheerfulness, for which I was usually rather remarkable. My spirits were depressed. The world grew to be a matter of indifference, or rather unpleasant repulsion. I could think no more of it as having interests for me. I involuntarily retired from intercourse, and courted solitude, that I might be free to indulge in the gloomy train of reflections that kept me miserable. I often prayed that I might be prepared for death, but derived no satisfaction from it, for I seemed to be sunk down and lost to all the capacities of happiness or hope.

It is probable that others observed and distinctly noted the change that had passed upon me, long before I suspected them to know or think any thing respecting it. It appeared as if I was shut up within myself, and had ceased to know aught that was passing around me. There was reason to think, as I learned afterwards, that I was under religious conviction, and the delicacy with which they acted towards me on this account, prevented me from discovering anything said or thought respecting me. I came, therefore, to be left to the solitude which was at once my wish and my torment. It is not to be doubted, that had some discreet Christian contrived to fall in with me, and engage affectionately in conversation on religion, until he could have learned something respecting the peculiarity of my situation, I might have been taken by the hand, and with the light of the gospel, been conducted out of a despondency which to me was like the valley of the shadow of death, into a region illuminated with the brightness of heaven, and the smiles of God's favor. But I have reason to believe that I appeared to others so anxious to conceal my situation, and possibly betrayed such sensitiveness to every thing that bore allusion to it, that no one was willing to attempt an intrusion into my confidence. What makes me think that a balm might have been poured into my diseased feelings, that would have been attended with grateful relief, and not been rejected as offered by an impertinent interference, is, that after long continuance in this suffering state, some person in whom I had confidence, did take occasion from some expression incidentally thrown out on my part, to advert to the satisfactions of religion; and the manner in which it was done, made me grateful, as though I saw in him the friend of my heart.

The truth is, as the reader is well aware, that a morbid melancholy had settled upon me. It is of no consequence how futile and senseless was the cause. This will only show that the precariousness of our temporal happiness may spring, not from evils that are real and inevitable merely, but from sources which, if you will, exist in the imagination only, and are in their true merits equivalent to nothing. Religion is the proper and only effectual cure of all the ills that humanity "is heir to." Ignorance, misconceptions, the natural darkness of the soul, or a diseased action of the body upon the mind, may sink the unhappy subject into desperation; but in every case, could the gospel be brought to bear upon him, not with a perverted, but with its genuine influence, the remedy is infallible and complete. Its action in the instant it is felt, will be pronounced to be the very infusion into the wounded spirit which heals wherever it is felt, carrying along with it energy and joy that are like "life from the dead."

The reader will see that at a period of my life as happy as any which I had ever known, which had been of long continuance, and to which I suspected no interruption, it was broken as suddenly as a vessel of glass is dashed in pieces, not by the loss of property or friends, not by a fit of sickness, the necessary amputation of a limb, or the stopping up of one of my senses, but by a glancing thought of imagination only, converting a bosom into a scene of darkness and desolation, where all, till then had been light and cheerfulness. I sometimes struggled for deliverance, from an occasional supposition, that such might really be the nature of my affection. But in every effort, though resolutely made, I was fairly overpowered, and felt myself brought down irresistibly into the dust. I discovered upon a few occasions incidentally occurring, that being in company my thoughts were stolen away from the dejecting apprehensions that usually occupied them, and my spirits would mount unawares to the gaiety once familiar to them. But in less than an hour after returning into solitude, I found myself again prostrate under the same incumbent pressure, though I recollect that at the moment I manfully determined no more to yield to it. After a continuance of some two or three months in this wretched state, I came to a conclusion that to prosecute education any longer in circumstances so disqualifying and disheartening promised no valuable result, and that it was too much for me to continue to bear. The issue to which I arrived was, to obtain permission to leave the college, and should I live to study a profession, to apply myself to the study of medicine. The explanation was made to Dr. Witherspoon and Dr. Smith, and they listened to it apparently with regret. They spoke of the importance of completing an education whatever my profession might be. It terminated in a recommendation to visit my friends for two or three weeks; that possibly my health might be improved; and if it should be, by all means to

return as soon as possible to my studies. They doubtless suspected the true cause of my difficulties, and their advice was fitted to the removal of them. To get home was but an afternoon's ride in the stage, and after being there a few days I discovered that the state of my feelings began sensibly to change. I had grown into the habit of daily prayer, and it was not long before my mother without my knowledge discovered it, to her great satisfaction. I staid out the three weeks, and so surprising was the recovery of my mental firmness and emancipation from the bondage which had so long bowed me to the earth, that I felt no difficulty in resolving to return and resume the studies to which I had once determined to bid adieu forever.

It may be asked, perhaps, in what light I considered the experience through which I passed in regard to its religious influence, and whether it was deemed by myself to be attended with true conviction of sin, or to terminate in a change of heart? To this I feel compelled to answer in the negative. My heart was too much in a state of bondage through the fear of death, to agree to the character of one renovated by the faith of the gospel. I never enjoyed any of the satisfactions of religion, springing from love to God, and confidence in his mercy, through Christ's atonement, as the means or the pledge of pardon and acceptance as an heir of life. Could I have experienced this, it would probably have dispersed the thick and dreary cloud that hovered around me, and would have darted sunshine through the soul. It was a spirit of depression and despondency, as if all hope were blighted, and I could look with no complacency upon the present or the future. I struggled for deliverance, but every effort was felt to be in vain. I engaged in prayer because I dreaded the final judgment of the Almighty, to which, in my apprehension, I might soon be called. Looking on this life as having no interests *for me*, and on death as all that intervened between the present and the irretrievable loss that was to follow, every resource was cut off to which I might look for some satisfaction to beam upon my mind, or replace its dejection with joy and courage. And that which makes me think the more that I had none of the true spirit of a child of God is, that in my wishes for relief, I thought but little of its nature, provided only I could effect an escape from the dreadful gloom which constituted my misery. The consequence was, that in a very short time after my return to cheerfulness and confidence, my thoughtlessness of God, of piety, and a future world, in too great a degree returned with them, until at length my mind became as worldly as ever.

It has been already mentioned that Dr. Witherspoon lived a mile from town. It was already a long time that he had retired from the daily and personal supervision of the college. He had become advanced in years, and after passing much of his life, not only in an active and efficient man-

agement of the institution, but in a participation of public affairs, and as a member of Congress in the Revolutionary War, he sought exemption from the daily cares of collegiate government, leaving its maintenance principally in the hands of Dr. Smith, who had married his daughter, and who held the vice-presidency. Mrs. Witherspoon, whom he had married in Scotland, died while I was a student, and some time afterwards it appeared that even at that late period he resolved upon another marriage. One morning, shortly after prayers, it was rumored among us that the Doctor had set out very early, in the old family carriage for Philadelphia. It was soon confirmed, to the surprise of all, for the matter had been conducted in brief time, and principally, if not entirely, by correspondence, with a lady of his acquaintance. He took breakfast that morning with Dr. Armstrong, in Trenton, twelve miles on the way. Dr. A. felt the subject to be of a delicate nature, and forebore all allusion to it, especially as Dr. Witherspoon said nothing respecting it himself. Dr. W. was but little in the habit of appearing in the style of that morning's equipment; probably it had been some years since the wheels of the ancient vehicle had rolled under him. To make out a competent number of animals for the draught, (less than four, it seems, would not do,) some were called into this higher service, from the more humble functions of the cart or the plough. It could not be expected, therefore, that they should appear in uniform, as if they had been originally selected for purposes such as that for which they were now arranged. As speedily after the dispatch of breakfast as might be, the visitor and the visited passed to the door, one for the continuance of his journey, the other to show honor to his guest, as well as gratitude for the privilege he had enjoyed. For truly Dr. Witherspoon's conversation could multiply many times the pleasure of a breakfast served up to a man in the best manner, by his own fireside, and in the most auspicious circumstances. As ill luck would have it, if that can properly be called luck which the circumstances rendered almost inevitable, the first thing that caught the eye of Dr. Armstrong, and in easy good nature prompted the tongue, was the disparity in size, color, and form that reigned luxuriantly among the quadrupeds. "Why, Doctor," was his remark in pleasantry, "you do not seem to be very well matched." It will not appear strange if to one upon the verge of being a bridegroom, at any age, though it might be sixty-two, which happened to be the Doctor's, the image of horses, absorbing as that might be which was furnished by his own, was not uppermost in his thought. And this might especially be expected, when the one to whom he looked to be the bride, was in all the bloom and fullness of two and twenty. That, therefore, befell which the two friends had most studiously, and till this very last moment, successfully eluded. The one spoke of horses, the other thought of matri-

mony; and the reply of the Doctor was, "I neither give advice, nor do I take any." This was said as he ascended into the vehicle, and both the coachman and his animals commenced their respective functions with an action commensurate with their energies.

A few days elapsed, and one morning it was whispered among the students that on the previous evening the Doctor had returned with his bride. This was at first offered in the shape of a surmise only. But such a subject could not be permitted to rest without more light than what the night had thrown upon it. It was soon ascertained to be a fact, and a few of us were forthwith deputed to solicit the intermission of business for a day at least, that we might all manifest our joy, and do honor to the occasion. We soon arrived near the Doctor's mansion, and while we were yet some distance from the door, he presented himself for our reception. We were not a little delighted to be greeted with a welcome beyond what we felt ourselves assured in anticipating. We were invited with a flow of feeling such as we had never observed in the Doctor, to enter, and then advancing to the side-board, to join with him in a glass of wine, which needed not to have been so well selected as it was, to prove to us highly palatable and cheering. Being commended to drink to the health of the bride, we answered by uniting that of the bridegroom also, with a respectful wish, and I am sure an ardent one too, flowing from the bottom of our hearts, for their happiness through many years to come. We informed him that we appeared on the part of the college to ask some release from ordinary business on an occasion so gratifying to us all, and that we might have opportunity of manifesting our joy. "Yes, by all means, if it is your wish," was the reply. "At such a time as this, we must admit a suspension of business for two days at least, if not three." In the length of time spoken of, a discovery was made of something beyond our most sanguine expectations. It was one, as may be supposed, in which we could see nothing to mar our satisfaction. We were delighted to the full, and though we could not press him to our bosoms, he found his way to our hearts. We took our leave with grateful expressions, and hastened back with the tidings to our fellow students.

At the close of the third day, a large piece of ordnance, a thirty-six pounder I think, which was a relict of the Revolutionary contest, had been brought up and placed before the college. At the first fire, as a signal, the whole front appeared illuminated as in an instant: at the second, in an hour or two afterwards, the light was as suddenly extinguished. This was the conclusion of the three days allowed us, falling little short in hilarity of feeling to our young bosoms, of that which had been excited in older minds six years before, when intelligence was received that definite articles of peace had been signed at the British court, recognizing the

independence of these United States. I have related these incidents of a college life, because to some they may be amusing, who have been themselves familiar with it: to others who have not, they will serve as specimens of the manner in which students live, or may be affected in their peculiar circumstances.

It is a question which may easily occur, whether the youth is happier who passes his early years in a University, or he who is reared to an occupation which through the same period calls him to bodily labor. The inquiry may be extended to the whole of life. It may be asked whether any one has a greater prospect of enjoyment in a life of diligent mental or corporeal occupation. As to indolence or unfaithfulness in the prosecution of either, they are not to be brought into view, both because they are unworthy of our consideration, and if mixed with the subject, must make it wholly indefinite. It is certainly very common with students to pant after the privileges of a rural life; and perhaps it is no less so for the son of the farmer, who is constrained to daily toil, as every one ought to be who is to follow that profession, to feel convinced that the opportunities of a liberal education would crown his utmost wishes. It is probable that the unhappiness of each is chiefly due, not to the nature of his business, but to the indulgence of an unsettled mind, and of complaint against the renewed exertion and confinement that return upon him in uninterrupted continuance. Each of them knows and feels his own difficulties and discontents, and it is through these that his conclusion is drawn unfavorably to his own employment. Each looks at the occupation of the other through imagination only. This selects the objects and colors of the picture, and he longs for the pleasures on which his eye is directed, without having forced upon his feelings the toils and solitudes which experience would teach him to be inseparable from them. An actual subjection to these would soon convince him that nothing was gained by the exchange, were he allowed to make it. The true secret of human happiness, so far as profession is concerned, is probably to be seen, not so much in the employment, as in that discipline over ourselves which by directing our efforts upon the greatest efficacy and skill in the performance of every thing we would do, becomes interested in the result, and in the true and efficient means of its attainment. Let not the farmer or the mechanic, nor let their sons look with envy upon the privileges of the student. Placed in his situation, subjected to his confinement, and to the same rigorous exaction upon his mental faculties in the daily task, he would probably soon sigh for exemption from them, that he might be replaced in the condition which he had deserted with fond and disappointed calculations. A student sometimes returns home from the academy or the college, repining or clamoring with discontent, and soliciting as a privilege to be em-

ployed in some manual or bodily exertion, rather than continue under the pressure and restriction of a college life. He is perhaps gratified by his parent. A short trial convinces him of his misapprehensions, and he eagerly compromises for a return to that from which his feelings had so strongly revolted. This furnishes no evidence in behalf of collegiate felicity, any more than that the blistering of the hands, or the soreness of the muscles by the labor of the first days, would prove that the same effects and the sufferings from them are to be borne continually, should he addict himself to labor through the whole of life. Before we can be enured to any species of industry, some uneasy, if not painful effects, must be experienced. A mind unalterably fixed upon its purpose will find these to be trifles. Once seasoned to its occupation, it is better capable of determining the satisfactions it is to enjoy in the choice which it has made. Nor will it then do justice to its own election, if doubt and vacillation be not perfectly excluded. In proportion as these are permitted to agitate the breast, they will prove elements of dissolution to our happiness. All envy at the imagined superior advantages of others, all repugnance and fretfulness at the obstacles or inconveniencies that meet us as we advance, are an unreasonable quarrel with the laws of nature, and the determinations of Providence; and if that be our temper, every situation and every profession will harass us with their occurrence in sufficient numbers to make us dissatisfied with our lot. One who often counts the hours that are passing, or which are yet to come before a release from his business, is likely to find it too long for his wishes. Another who looks to the objects he is bent on accomplishing, will be apt to think it too short, and instead of abridging the day, he longs to extend it. The one who improves his time with diligence, receiving it as it is meted out to him, in the prosecution of his settled purpose, admitting no wavering uncertainties to weaken or tease him with discontents furnishes a third description of character; and which of them is likely to exceed in happiness, cannot be difficult of determination. Let not the student, or the professional man, envy the mechanic, or the farmer. It implies that he wants self-discipline, and if he continue long unhappy, the fault is in himself and not in his circumstances. Nor let the person whose business calls him to muscular action, imagine that in literary, or professional life, he would be more highly favored. It is to this very indulgence of an uncertain mind that he owes all his miseries. But who can be happy without reference to God? How shall any man, young or old, rationally hope to be blest, if his plans be all chosen and pressed forward without the admission of the principle that He rules and must be consulted in all our affairs? In our diligence, our danger is that we shall rest in our own efficacy, and the sufficiency of the world. If this be our spirit, it is essentially an error, nor is it one of

minor consequence, which may take place, and yet we make our way with disadvantages only. It is an error more fatal to our plans and efforts, at least to our happiness, than any other can be. This would appear to carry with it the evidence of a first truth, an indisputable axiom, to the judgment of the most enlightened mind, as well as the humblest christian. The man who admits this, not merely as a general principle when he happens to come to it, but habitually and practically, in his meditations and the execution of his plans, will find himself carried forward by consistency to a complete acknowledgement of the gospel.

After a continuance of four years and a half from the time of my joining the senior class in the grammar-school, we were graduated in 1791, my age being then eighteen years and a half. The delight I felt on that occasion must have been excited by a disenthralment from the confining rules and the ever-returning responsibilities of a college life, rather than by any prospect of circumstances more exuberant in happiness. My education was all that I could look to; my fortune was to be made, and not one definite object was before me to give direction to my movements. The gay feelings that spread through my bosom were overcast by a sombrous aspect, diffusing through them a pensiveness that sometimes almost oppressed me. I had always been successful in my studies, and this was an encouragement. But my views were altogether indefinite; the world was before me, and I knew not how I was to get hold of it, that I might bring any ability I might possess into action, gain advantages, and then make them avail for the acquisition of more. I had not even decided the profession I was to follow, and of course could not look any where for this species of preparation. I was young, however; my spirits were cheerful. One thought in which I indulged was, that I had time to spare before coming of age, and that I might afford to pass some of it in amusement, in reprisal for the long confinement from which I was now emancipated. This was an unhappy mistake, for I acted so much upon it, that the improvement of a year or two was lost; which time, had it been faithfully applied in a course of valuable studies, would have added largely to my attainments. I went to reside with my mother and brother, who were now at Black River, near Flanders, where he lived as a farmer upon the land once my grandmother's, and which she had bequeathed to him at her death.

Some months passed away in idleness, or little better. I grew weary of it, but knew not what to do. I was among farmers, and yet wholly unqualified to participate in their interests or occupations. I found that capital without a market was of no value. They looked upon me as a scholar, but they had no use for scholarship, and I was in danger of falling into disesteem, if not contempt, from the inefficacy of all that I possessed for any profit to them or to myself.

At length it was suggested by some of them, that a few boys in the village and neighborhood wanted instruction in the languages. It was proposed that I should teach them; and so weary was I of doing nothing, that I took refuge in the employment, though I thought it an humble business. It was an easy business to me, and I took pleasure in looking again at the beauties of Virgil, and unfolding them to my scholars. I continued some months to do this, but it was felt to be a matter of small moment in comparison with the larger and higher objects of imagination. It was still a difficulty to know how to get at them. They rose up in numerous and picturesque forms, but in my youthful inexperience and inability to address myself to men, to make propositions or present inducements to them, it seemed that it was all fancy only, which I began at last to think was never to be realized.

Whatever else may enter into the purposes of the young, love is certain to constitute a part. Some of our neighbors, as must always happen, made a figure in property and consequence above others. Next door but one to ours, was a family of this description. A young lady was of its number, who I found began to fasten upon me in a manner so pleasing, that I had no disposition to displace the thought of her by any reflections which might be at variance with it as an inmate of my bosom. My morning walks soon came to be decidedly more frequent by her house, than in the opposite direction. If she happened to be visible, which was not unfrequently the case, as northern families in the country are apt to be in the habit of bestirring themselves early, my eye would steal glances towards her, which would serve to make the time till I returned home, pass with more vivid enjoyment of the fresh air, the scenery around, the alacrity of healthful sensation, and the enchanting tints diffused by fancy over the fields, and every subject of my thoughts. As yet our intercourse had been but infrequent. We were both young, and could scarcely venture to think of a matter involving such serious consequences as matrimony. It was to our early minds too distant to be realized. Such at least I deemed to be the state of her sentiments, from her manner, so far as I had observed it. She was willingly communicative, but rather pensive than gay. Her father had been educated for the ministry, but being of a slender constitution, and somewhat apprehensive of pectoral weakness, he had made choice of a farmer's life, that he might be called into activity, augment bodily strength, and prevent that reaction of the mind which might overpower it. Her mother was an excellent woman, but fell much short of her husband in sprightliness and intelligence.

At length as my walks would recur, for they were agreeable, it seemed observable that I was seldom, if ever, disappointed in seeing her; and when she appeared, it was not in a passing manner only, as at first, but

when I came into view her movement lingered, her eye became directed upon mine, which, in spite of a repressive feeling of modesty to which I was exceedingly subject, was sure to be turned upon her, and we would almost stop under the influence that certainly fascinated me, and to which I could not but flatter myself she was not wholly insensible. If the wings of Mercury had been put upon my feet, I could not have felt lighter after observations like these. My heart began to run upon this object with renewed interest through the day. And whenever the thought of Miss O—— returned, the probability that if I should seek a more intimate acquaintance, the proffer would not be declined, excited in my young bosom trembling emotions, to be set down under the head of enjoyment; for time which had before dragged heavily, now glided along with a pleasing smoothness, and my uneasiness at the idea that I was making no headway towards the prospects to which I looked with indefinite contemplation, but determined purpose, ceased to torment me. My walks were still renewed, as I did not fail to be gratified with the appearance of her who was now their principal motive, I loitered as I drew near, and when the bow and the good morning were offered with a smile of interest and complacency, they were returned with expression and manner which I thought I could not misunderstand. I stood still and entered into conversation. The soft and pleasant tones of her voice, with her willingness to listen and reply, without any appearance of a disposition to terminate the interview, gave delightful intimations that something of the same sentiment was alive in her bosom, which was thrilling in mine.

After this our acquaintance grew more intimate. I visited the family sometimes, and my reception implied that there was no unwillingness that my visits should be continued. But to what purpose was all this? was an inquiry which began to press much upon me, and to occupy my thoughts as though I was engaged in an inconsistency with which I could not be satisfied. I had never given up the idea that my destiny was to be marked out, not in the place where I then was, but somewhere at large, in some other sphere, for the one in which I then moved was felt to be of dimensions too diminutive to satisfy me. These considerations, though thrust out of sight by the force of my first youthful experience of a passion that reigns in the bosoms of all, began to weigh heavily upon me, whenever an approximation to the final issue compelled me to look upon it as but a few steps before me. I pretend not to say whether, if the plan of a matrimonial connection with this young lady whose charms had given me more knowledge of what it was to love than I had before acquired, had been urged to a determination, it would or would not have been successful. It was a question which in the existing circumstances, I felt too appalling to bring to a crisis. Had it been pressed to a successful conclusion, it would

have undoubtedly furnished another instance of Providential disposition, by which the whole course of my life would have been permanently directed by a turn, as upon the minutest pivot, into a channel wholly different from that in which it has flowed. To myself alone it can be supposed a matter of any interest. But when every other person directs his eye upon similar instances in his own history, in which circumstances the most trivial have given a shape to the whole of his subsequent condition in the world, the reflection becomes obvious and impressive, by what small events Providence guides the destinies of our existence.

While in this situation which seemed tending to a crisis, and not long after its last peculiarities which had been so delicately interesting to me had occurred, I received notice, I scarcely remember how, that my services as an assistant teacher would be acceptable in Elizabethtown, in the lower part of the State. No hesitation was felt in accepting the offer. I left Black River forever, my studies were renewed, and the opportunities of a polished community, and literary society were relished more exquisitely after the tedious and dismal sequestration I had suffered. My companionship, and the privileges of living under a ministry and in a congregation where religion was highly estimated, and its impressions were often deeply felt, proved the means of turning my thoughts and affections anew and with more intensity on that subject. The result was such that the question of a profession, which had never yet been decided, terminated in a conclusion, if God would sanction it with his grace, that I would commence a course of studies for the sacred ministry. With much diffidence and apprehension, I entered on the prosecution of these subjects under the direction of the Rev. David Austin, then pastor of the Presbyterian congregation in the place. A relative of his by the name of Sherman, was my companion in study. My obligations both to the uncle and the nephew, for their personal kindness and encouragement, have ever been remembered with the deepest and most affectionate gratitude. Poor Sherman, as himself told me some years afterwards, in a letter, renounced Orthodoxy and espoused Socinianism. Other events afterwards befell, distressing and mortifying in their nature, which were successively heard of by me with surprise and regret. They must have been humiliating to him, but it is useless to repeat them here. They imply nothing, however, that will affect his moral character, except it were true, as I was told, that he became, at least in some degree, intemperate.

Some months after commencing the study of Divinity, it was proposed to me to undertake the instruction of an academy at Springfield. To obtain funds, I entered into negotiation upon the subject. The gentlemen who spoke of it, appeared to me at first rather cool and reserved for my feelings, for their manner implied some apprehension respecting the re-

sult. I felt and manifested more independence than was consistent with my circumstances, for it was really a matter of some consequence to me to engage in the business. While we were conversing on preliminaries, and were on the point of reaching a conclusion, a letter came from Dr. Smith, of Princeton, proposing that I should become a tutor in the college. As soon as these gentlemen were aware of this, they manifested no small surprise and agitation, and their urgency grew continually, until while I persevered in my conclusion to accept of the tutorship, I was in danger of being charged with improperly disappointing them, as though a contract had been already made. On this, however, they could by no means insist. I asked them whether as friends, they would advise me to accept of their offer in preference to my prospects at Princeton. They candidly replied that they could not, and so we parted upon sufficiently good terms.

At the college I instantly began to feel the vast difference between the privileges of a student in a place where science and literature were the professional occupation of all around me, and abroad in the world, where the prosecution of these objects not only was unsupported by a community of feelings and interests, except perhaps with one or two, but seclusion from much intercourse was indispensably necessary to any tolerable success. In the midst of professors, and scholars, and libraries, bent upon as great attainments as I could compass, having a taste for learning and intent on qualifying myself liberally for a profession, I was happy in expatiating upon classic ground, and desired nothing so much as the very privileges I enjoyed of traversing the volumes which it was my duty to take as my guides to the ulterior purposes before me. Nothing troubled me so much as an interruption of my studies. This had been much the case through the whole course of my education, and as my disposition was in general kindly towards others, I never could well understand how numbers of young men could be prompted as they evidently were, not only to lavish as much time as possible in idleness, but to interpose obstructions with almost a spirit of malignity and persecution, in the way of others who were studious of abstraction and improvement. It is evident, however, that where there is no community of sentiment among men, they are not satisfied with neutrality or indifference toward one another, but grow into opposition and even mutual hatred. To prevent this, self-discipline is more or less necessary. Its cultivation and establishment through society is one evidence of superior civilization. But the spirit of forbearance can never be fully comprehended, but by the exposition of the gospel to the mind and the heart, not in their ordinary natural state, but as they are made capable of the proper feelings of this virtue, by the Spirit of Him who revealed and illustrated it in the scriptures. And if forbearance, which is but a negative virtue, cannot be known and felt without such

a reformation, much less can the spirit of that positive celestial charity be supposed producible by us, which binds all in the creation that are under its influence, to the throne of God and to one another in ties, which by his own formation, are the certain and only pledge at once of individual and universal happiness.

The same variance in taste, sentiment, and interest is exhibited in the little society of a college, as agitates the world at large, through its communities and governments. There is no condition, indeed, in which we may not learn human nature, and find it the very same in one as in another. In every one will be enough of the evil passions and obliquities to sicken or wound us with their offensive forms, and thanks be to Him who preserves and governs this world as a probationary state in mercy, there is a mixture of better characters and qualities, sufficient not merely to reconcile us to the evil, but to create attachments even in the best of men, by which they cling to their objects as with a dying grasp.

While residing at Princeton this third and last time, an incident occurred once more of a nature to impress upon me awfully the perfect uncertainty of life, while we are in the height of its enjoyments, in the vigor of youth, and when the peril is unsuspected the moment before we are involved in it. A young man fully grown, by the name of Simpson, was a student of the college. It happened that some intimacy grew between us, as might easily be, as I occupied a room in the college building. In the warm season of the year, we agreed to take an early walk to the usual place of bathing, because the air would be fresh, and we should be without other company. Simpson, though of full size and age, could swim but little; scarcely with skill and confidence enough to venture into deep water. It was different with me, and while he was practising in shallow places, the freedom and repetition of my passages over the deeper parts, there was reason to think became a temptation to him. In setting off from where he was to pass up the stream, which could not be done without swimming further than he had ever before attempted, I called out to him with a cheering voice, and without thinking whether he would make the trial or not, to follow on. I arrived at the shallow water above, and on turning round was surprised to see him arrived at the middle of the deepest part. He seemed to be doing very well, and I told him so for his encouragement. Almost instantly afterwards I saw him place himself deliberately in an erect attitude, and descend as we generally do, to try the depth of the water. His appearance was so much that of self-possession, that it seemed handsomely done; but when he rose, as a little afterwards he did, his person shooting almost half above the surface, and the water projecting a full stream from his mouth, a sudden horror seized me; I saw that he had given out at the time when he went down; in his confusion, he

had hoped the depth might not be too great for him ; it was, however, far over his head, and, if he had held his breath at all, he had instantly ceased to do so. Without assistance, he must inevitably drown, perhaps before I could get to him to afford it, even if I were able. I was aware of the convulsive struggles of a drowning man, and had often heard how dangerous. I was small and light ; he was larger than the ordinary size in bone and muscle, and had the appearance of unusual strength. The moment I saw him in that desperate situation a sudden compunction flashed through me for having probably been the occasion of his losing his life, when I so rashly spoke to him to follow from the starting place ; and, beside this, I could not indulge for a moment the thought of seeing him drown without an effort to save him. All these considerations passed through my mind in far less than the time necessary to their utterance, for we think with almost incredible rapidity in such extreme emergencies. In fact, he had no sooner disappeared again, after rising out of the water, than I was on the way, whatever was to be the consequence.

In passing to the spot where he was struggling with death, I observed that he still continued to project himself above the water from the bottom, as often as he sunk. My plan for getting him out was, to avoid his grasp by going up behind him, in such a manner that by reaching out my right hand in front and taking hold of his left arm near the shoulder, I might exert upon him, steadily, as much force as was necessary to support his head above water, and so push him forward to the shore, depending on the other arm and my feet for swimming. This method was thought of on the way, for when I set out I really had not considered how the object was to be accomplished. It was, I believe, the third time of his appearing above the water, when I was so near him as to arrive where he was, against the next time, and place myself for taking hold of him, should he come up once more. While he was in view this third time, I called out to him with a voice exerted to the utmost, "To let me alone, and I would get him out." I certainly did not reflect in the pressure of the moment, that he might as well have been expected to hear me and follow my directions, as if he had been in the remotest extremity of the globe. He arose once more, and finding myself precisely in the position I wished, I attempted to grasp his arm, but as I might have anticipated, it was too large for one so much smaller as I was than himself, especially at that part, and beside this the smoothness occasioned by the water, and the convulsive violence of his motions, convinced me at once that my scheme was utterly hopeless. He went down once more, and I was filled with horror in the despair of saving him. The next moment, however, I felt his fingers grappling at my legs, with such an indication in the manner as shocked me with the conviction that if he succeeded in laying hold on me, which had now evi-

dently become his object, we must both drown together. In an instant I was in the utmost stretch of exertion to escape from him. Still his hands now and then continued to be felt, and always with a terrifying violence. I was convinced that I had swam far enough to be out of his way, and could not imagine how it could be that when I was persuading myself that I must be safe, his contact filled me with fresh alarm. I began to think that it would be impossible to elude him. My efforts, however, were of course continued, though I knew nothing of the direction in which they were made, until my breast struck upon the shore. I was surprised when this occurred, that it should have been so completely invisible to me. No sooner had it happened than turning round, I saw Simpson standing erect upon his feet, within four feet of me, his eyes closed, and the water shooting out of his mouth in a copious and continued stream. The relief felt when my own safety was ensured was as great as it was sudden, but how exquisite was the joy when I saw that he too was secure. While I had been making my way to the best of my ability at the surface of the water, he had been instinctively pursuing hard after me, though buried under it, and had felt the bottom in the same moment that I had touched the shore. He had been long struggling in the arms of death, but to my astonishment it soon appeared that I was much more exhausted than he. In walking half the mile we had to go to the college, my strength was wholly gone, and sinking upon the ground, I called upon him to give me time to rest. He showed no extreme debility, but seemed able to walk the whole distance without any such distress. My system certainly had no claims to the strength of his, but although while in the water, before missing my aim at his arm, I had retained perfect self-possession; from the moment I felt his clutch, it must have been a perfect panic with me, and my powers were overdone by the intensity of action that followed. The consequent languor, however, was not of long continuance. Rest, and the first meal produced no small repairs, and the pleasure felt for the safety of us both, probably hastened the system to its usual activity, so that by the next day the effects were no more perceptible.

I shall not think it worth while to note many incidents of my second continuance at Princeton, except that I was called to act as tutor in the college, and one other.

In the tutorship my time was principally occupied in giving critical perfection, as far as possible, to my knowledge of the classical authors which it was my business to teach. This was at once my duty and my delight. It may be supposed, of course, that my qualifications to instruct were not questioned. But the part of a tutor's office which consists in government, is by no means certain to run parallel with knowledge and the ability to communicate it. This was the occasion of much solicitude,

and of more trial to my feelings than I should have consented to bear, had it not been that advantages of improvement of a practical nature recommended it, and that the necessity of funds imposed it upon me. My feelings were always delicate and sensitive, and this put it easily into the power of those to whom the thought of being under authority was uppermost as ungrateful in their situation, to take revenge upon the unfortunate being whose indispensable duty it was to enforce the rules of the college. No provocation was necessary to call into action a spirit of mischief, tumult, and attack. No plea of necessity for quiet to the success of study, or for decorum and respect for the enjoyment of privileges and credit in society, was of sufficient avail to repress disorderly conduct, or prevent it from growing into outrage if it was not met and resisted. He, then, who exercises authority, especially over the young, may expect to be unreasonably assailed by some at least, whose study it will be, and who will therefore be far more successful than in prosecuting their education, to puncture his feelings, and to inflict torture upon them in an exquisite degree. The true and only remedy for such evils is forbearance, cordial solicitude for the real welfare of the young whose tuition is entrusted to us, and unremitting fidelity to the obligations binding us to the institution that looks to us for a conscientious discharge of the office it has devolved upon us, and for which we have made ourselves responsible. The instructor in whose bosom these motives are habitually alive, may, and will be, thoughtlessly or rudely assailed by the unfeeling, the discontented, and the unreasonable; but his motives and proper character will be irresistibly felt, and in the hour of trial he will be sustained against all the efforts of obloquy and opposition. It is difficult, if not impossible, for a young man acting in a tutorship to know at all times the estimation that attends him in his personal or official character. Incidents will occur to make him feel himself disparaged and depressed. The wounds which appear intentionally inflicted upon him, are apt to be felt much more deeply than accords to the real merits of the case, and if the officer be not mercifully inclined, he may easily exceed in the infliction of punishment. The conviction of the offender in his own mind, and his reclamation from his fault, are certainly the first objects of a teacher, and scarcely to be relinquished, until all the efforts of reason and affectionate solicitude have failed, and the stubbornness and invincible adherence to a bad cause, after time for reflection, have decided his case to be hopeless. The student who yields in such a struggle, furnishes greater assurance against future disorder or misconduct, than can be gained by a treatment that aims to deter by severity; and if he persist, the penalty which becomes necessary, will ensure all the efficacy which it is the proper object of exemplary discipline to secure. He who seeks to win the heart upon correct principles, will with difficulty

be resisted. If he even be met in return with rudeness and insolence, let him not despair, for these if rightly received, furnish fresh pledges of final success.

In the beginning of September, 1796, I set out upon my journey to North Carolina. Mr. Charles Harris of that State had been acquainted with me while he was a student of Nassau Hall. It was but a year that he was at Princeton, for he entered the Senior Class on his admission into the college. So little had been our personal intercourse with one another, that I afterward scarcely remembered that I had ever seen him. This was about the year 1791. In 1796, the University of North Carolina had commenced its business, and Mr. Harris was acting as Professor of Mathematics. Having determined to make the law his profession, he accepted the professorship for a short time only, and at the close of the year he was to relinquish his place in the college. He had understood that I was in the tutorship at Princeton, and sent me a letter to know whether I would consent to be appointed his successor. I was as incompetent as a child to determine the answer I ought to give. I could do nothing but refer the question to others whom I supposed better judges, and whom I had reason to consider as my best and sincerest friends. The opinion of most, if not all, was, that I ought to accept the offer if it should be made. As to myself, it was flattering to my feelings, and presented a prospect of respectable and permanent income. I had but little practical knowledge of men, but felt quite convinced that if I was qualified to engage at once in any species of business, it was in teaching rather than any thing else. If my acquaintance with the world, even where I had grown up into it, was but small, of that part of it into which I was going, it might be literally said that I knew nothing. I might have had an idea that some difference was to be seen in the state of society, and in the manners and customs of the people; but in what the peculiarities specifically consisted, I certainly had no conception. It was concluded that it was best to travel by private conveyance, and after bidding an adieu, more trying to my feelings than I had supposed it was to be, I found myself with horse and gig on the road to Philadelphia. I stopped at Dr. Armstrong's, in Trenton, to receive from him letters of introduction to gentlemen of Hillsborough, in North Carolina, where he had resided some time with the American army as chaplain during the Revolutionary War. Coming to Philadelphia on a Saturday, I was invited to preach the next day in Dr. Green's pulpit in Arch street. On Monday morning, one or two elderly gentlemen, who appeared incidentally to call, began to say that they had understood I was on a journey to another part of the country, but they had started the question whether it might not be possible and expedient to stop me where I was. They alluded to a vacant pulpit, which it seems,

some suggestion had been made, that I might be invited to occupy as pastor. To this Dr. Green suddenly, and in a manner somewhat more decisive than was agreeable to me at the moment, remarked that the matter he believed to be totally decided : that I was on my way to Carolina, and that to Carolina he understood I was certainly to go. It would be to no purpose, therefore, to speak of plans which might be at variance with this. My disposition was exceedingly pliant at that age ; I had been accustomed to look to others for determination more than to myself ; the suggestion had struck suddenly upon my ear ; my mind, it was true, had felt itself conclusively settled as to its object, and although there was an instantaneous and involuntary start of revolt in my bosom at the promptness with which Dr. Green undertook to pronounce for me, the matter passed away without any thing farther said, and the next day I again found myself on the road. The gentlemen who had entered Dr. Green's house, and commenced with the remark respecting the object of my journey, which they had learned, I knew not how, undoubtedly were about to propose that I should remain some little time in the city, to give further opportunity to some vacant congregation to which they probably belonged as elders, to form an opinion of me as a minister, and determine whether they might not give me a call. On this I have sometimes ruminated, as to the effects it might have produced upon the whole aspect of my life, had their proposition been listened to, and followed by a relinquishment of my prospects in the South, for a pulpit and a congregation in the city. It has impressed upon me anew, how surprisingly we are in the hands of God's providential interposition.

Should we place an elastic ball upon an immense plain, and imagine a motion given to it which would continue through the distance of 70 miles, and that it was subject, every now and then, to be acted on by impulses from other balls coming into contact in all various directions, sometimes laterally, sometimes obliquely in the direction of its motion, and then contrary to its direction, sometimes in the same line against, at other times in exact concurrence with its course, now with great efficacy, then with an action scarcely discernible, it would be a question of no easy solution, where such a rolling body was likely to be found at any period of its motion, how far it would have proceeded, or in what line it would be advancing. It would have set out with an impetus originally imparted to it, and which is afterwards its own, it ever continues with an impetus forward, and these have a share of influence in determining both its distance and its course, but it is only a portion of influence which it exerts. How much is ever depending upon other influences and impacts which in continual succession are meeting it on every side, and whose arrival both in time and place is wholly from without and independent of itself. Will

not this serve as an analogous illustration of the life of a being setting out in the world, and advancing through it under the controlling power of an overruling Providence? Let it not be imagined that I would confound the distinction between moral and physical motives, or consider them the same in their nature. Were this true, all responsibility would be taken away, and fatality be alike applicable to the material and spiritual world. Moral action is wholly diverse in its very nature, from material action, and it is in this difference that we forever continue accountable for every choice we make, and every deed we perform. In this very circumstance we see the wonderful and unsearchable wisdom of God. We might have been made acquainted with one species of agency only, the physical: and then every result, and our whole progress through existence, would have been with no more accountableness on our part, than the ball would be answerable for its position or direction at any particular moment. But this it seems is not the only way which God can devise for the influences of Providence. He can connect with his government over his creatures, a responsibility as complete on their part, as though any exertion of power by himself were wholly excluded. Who shall deny this wisdom and this ability to God? All the issues of our lives are the result, not of physical necessity, but of moral certainty, so connected in us with freedom of choice, and felt with a conviction so complete, that when God judges us, every mouth shall be stopped, for we shall know that our destiny as to happiness or misery, has been of our own framing. We cannot choose our own circumstances externally, but while we are standing in them, we can choose or retain our principles. It is by these that a character is imparted to us in the eye of our Heavenly Father, and it is with these that he connects our happiness or misery by inviolable conditions.

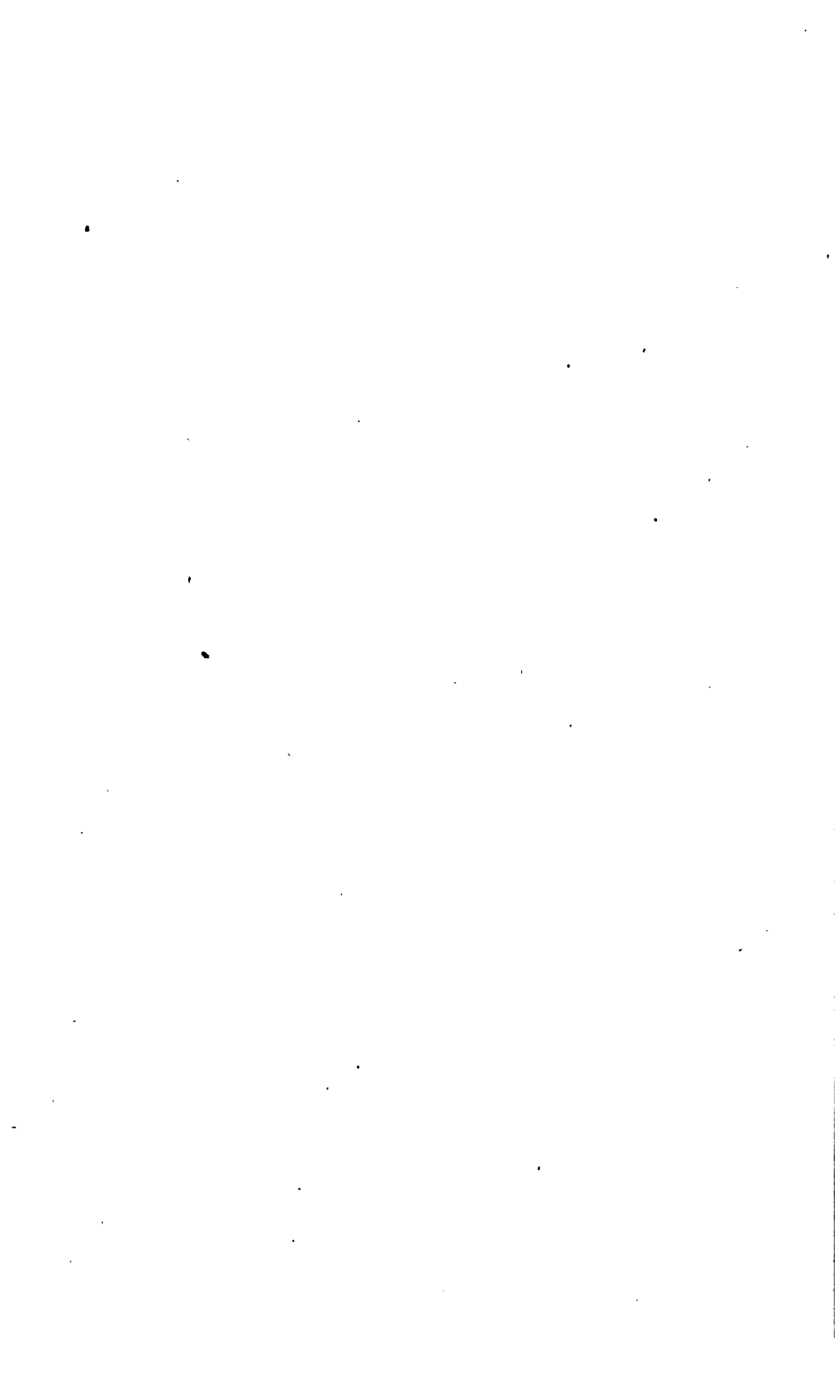
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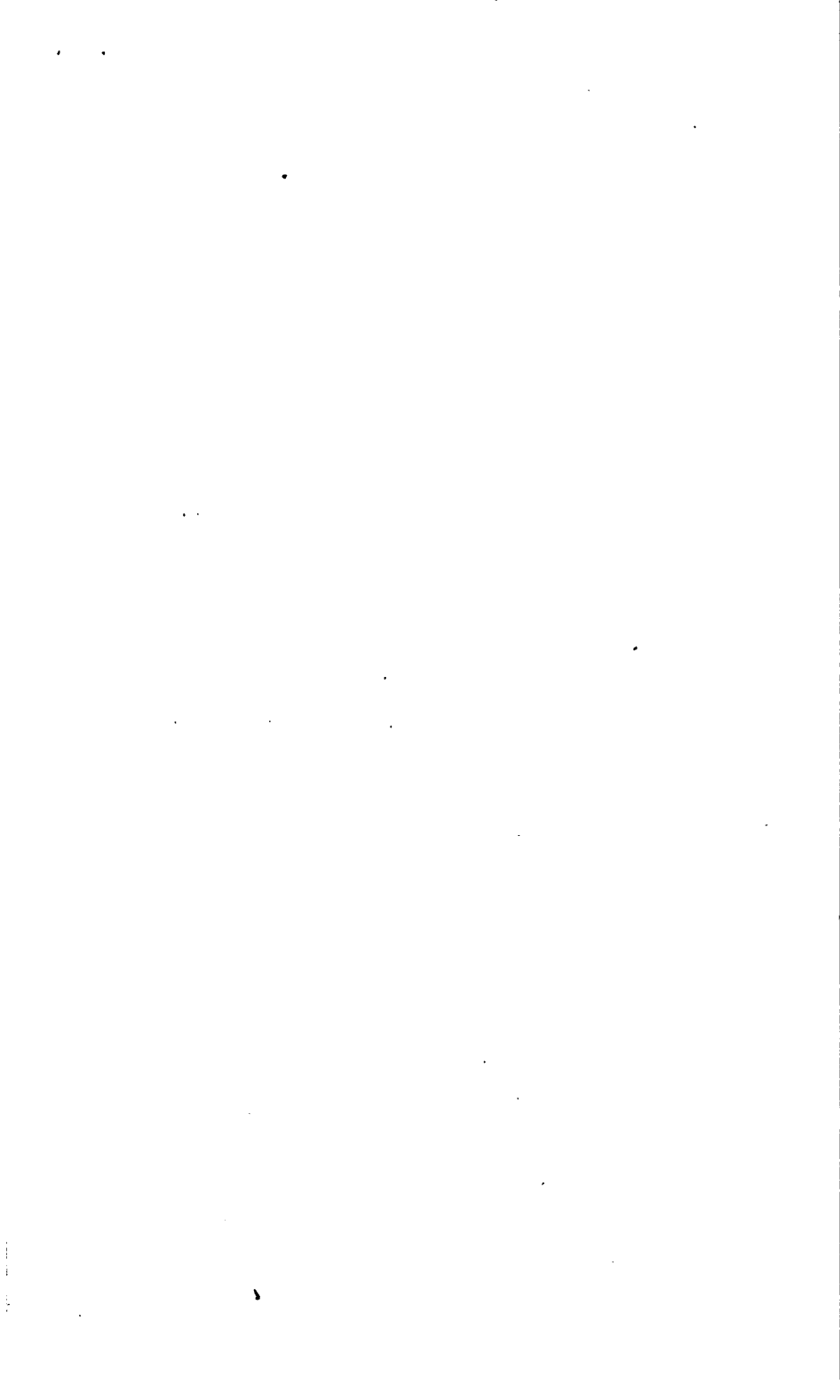
[The following Note was written by a relative and pupil of Dr. CALDWELL who, it seems, intended to prepare a Biography of Dr. C. to accompany the Autobiography. From some cause he failed to execute that intention, and the preface to his biography is here inserted as it gives the motives which probably actuated the writer in penning the Autobiography.]

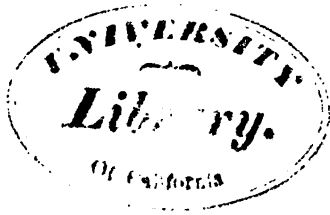
When a man dies who has filled a considerable space in the public eye, there seems to be a natural and just curiosity to know something of his private history, his parentage, his education, the events of Providence and the personal exertions by which he at length rose to merited distinction. This public interest in the history of a man who has been snatched by death from the stage of the world where he was acting a conspicuous part may be turned to valuable account. The memory of such an individual, who was of late the object of love and veneration, may be made a vehicle

of much valuable instruction which would never have obtained access to the mind, if offered in a didactic form, unembodied with the narrative. It is fortunate when the subject of the memoir, himself, has left us authentic materials for the history of the earlier and more obscure part of his life. The development of all that secret portion of a man's history which passes within his own bosom, the geography, if we may be allowed the figure, of that *terra incognita* which, though rich in veins of gold, must have remained always unknown, but for these personal disclosures, has often been found interesting enough to make amends for the absence of incidents and adventures, and has rendered Confessions and Autobiographies the most attractive of all publications. Such an advantage the writer of the present memoir enjoys, having found among the papers of his deceased relative two small manuscript volumes, containing an account of his life till the year 1796 when he set out for the State of North Carolina, at the invitation of the Trustees of the University to become Professor of Mathematics of that institution. This memoir of himself it has been thought best to introduce in the form in which it was found. It is supposed that the compiler of this volume will perform his task in a manner more gratifying to others who will take an interest in perusing it, if even a considerable portion of it should be occupied with personal narrative and private reflections rather than with sermons—a kind of composition with which, and that too of first-rate excellence, the world is already so full that there seems to be little use in increasing the stock. All, I presume, which his friends and the public of North Carolina would desire besides the personal and official history, is a specimen of a few sermons, which together with that may furnish their libraries with a memento of the man who was thought so great a benefactor to this State and who is endeared to so many, as the preceptor and guide of their youth.

From several passages in the narrative it would appear not to have been intended for the public eye, but only designed for the perusal of his circle of friends and to furnish authentic materials in case any future account of him should be called for. The reader will, therefore, make requisite allowance for any want of care in the composition which he may discover. The complaint, however, will probably be of the opposite fault: too great formality and precision of expression, which it must be confessed characterized his style in a considerable degree, and of which he could not quite divest himself even in relating the familiar transactions of his private life. But although the reader will probably remark occasionally an involved and circuitous construction of his sentences, yet he will perhaps admit that oftentimes the thought is given forth with more strength from these tortuous involutions, as the stone from the sling, deriving impetus from its numerous gyrations.







BIOGRAPHY.*

A very brief notice of the early circumstances of the University of North Carolina, may not be misplaced or deemed impertinent here, as Dr. Caldwell's connection with it began in its infancy. The act of Incorporation was past in 1789; but little efficient aid was given by the Legislature of the State towards the accomplishment of the undertaking. Grants of escheated property and of certain monies due to the State, and subsequently, of all confiscated property, were made; but of this latter source of revenue, the Trustees were soon afterwards divested, and the others were never very productive, except in Western Lands, the value of which remained for a long time little more than nominal, though at this day constituting a splendid endowment. Private munificence compensated the tardiness of the public benefactions. Gov. Benjamin Smith made a donation of twenty thousand acres of land; Major Charles Girard bequeathed thirteen thousand acres, and numerous contributions in money were made throughout the State, which enabled the Trustees to commence the buildings necessary for the accommodation of the students. But all these resources together were not commensurate with the magnitude of the enterprize; and the College struggled through a very feeble infancy for several years, until a development of its resources and the zeal and energy of its friends, brought it to a condition of more maturity and stability. The labors and constantly increasing reputation of Dr. Caldwell, were instrumental, in no small degree, in effecting this result; and he was permitted to live to see our Institution rising from the humble condition of a mere Grammer School, progressively through all the successive gradations of usefulness and respectability, to the high and honorable station which it occupied at his death among the Universities of the land. May we be pardoned for adverting here to one article in the Act of Incorporation, which seems to have been nugatory, from the limitation as to the time annexed to it, but the purpose of which might still be partly carried

* This Biographical Sketch of Dr. Caldwell is designed to illustrate the life of that great and good man after he became connected with the University of North Carolina in 1796. His early life is modestly narrated in the preceding pages by his own hand. We have not been able to procure a more copious narrative, therefore we have taken the liberty of re-publishing, with verbal and other modifications, the last part of the admirable "Oration on the Life and Character of Rev. Joseph Caldwell, D. D., L. L. D., delivered in 1835, by Professor Walker Anderson."

into effect in perfect consistency with its original design. It was enacted that six of the Halls, attached to the College precincts, should bear the names of the six individuals who, within four years, should be the largest contributors to the funds of the institution. It is probable, that with the exception of Gov. Smith's, there were not within that period any benefactions of such an amount as to warrant the Trustees in giving effect to this provisional act of gratitude; but the magnitude of one subsequent benefaction, at least, may well redeem it from the penalty annexed to its tardiness. Of the eight buildings constituting our present accommodations, one does honor to the name of one contributor, and the Chapel serves as a monument to the memory of another. The others are yet unappropriated; and, as we shall presently see, we are indebted for the largest of them, to funds accumulated from individual donations by the active exertions and persevering industry of Dr. Caldwell. He has been our most munificent benefactor, and to him should be awarded the highest meed of honor. Nor should the labors in our behalf of the lamented Mitchell go unremembered, when we come to christen our new edifices.

The business of Education in the University of North Carolina was commenced in the early part of the year 1795; Mr. Hinton James of Wilmington, the first Student, having arrived here on the 12th day of February of that year. The first Instructor was the Rev. David Kerr, a Graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, assisted by Mr. — Holmes, in the Preparatory Department. Very shortly afterwards, the Professorship of Mathematics was filled by the appointment of Mr. Charles Harris, of Iredell county, and a Graduate of the College of New Jersey. It was not the intention of Mr. Harris to engage permanently in the business of Instruction, his views being directed to the Profession of the Law; and when he accepted the Professorship, it was with the understanding that he was to relinquish it at the expiration of one year. Mr. Harris, while at Princeton, had formed an acquaintance with Dr. Caldwell, but their personal intercourse was so slight, that the latter scarcely remembered that he had ever seen him. His recommendation of Dr. Caldwell, therefore, as his successor, is a proof of the high estimation in which the latter was held by all who had an opportunity of knowing him, and is a forcible illustration of the influence which undeviating rectitude and close attention to the duties of their station exercise over the future destinies of the young.

To the penetration of Mr. Harris, and his agency in filling the Professorship vacated by himself, with so competent a successor, North Carolinians owe an eternal debt of gratitude. The letter to Dr. Caldwell, enquiring whether he would accept the Professorship of Mathematics, reached him, as we learn in his autobiography, while engaged in the discharge of his Tutorship at Princeton, and employing such a portion of his time as

could be spared from his more immediate business, in fitting himself for the ministerial office. The invitation being unsolicited, was unexpected, and found him wholly unprepared with an answer. The question was referred to his friends, who were supposed by him to be better judges than himself. They advised him to accept the offer; and, as it was flattering to his own feelings, and presented a prospect of a respectable and permanent income, he yielded to their advice, and accordingly signified to Mr. Harris his determination to accept the Professorship, if it should be offered him by the Trustees of the College. The appointment was made by an unanimous vote of the Board, and Dr. Caldwell, after being admitted to the ministry in the Presbyterian Church, left Princeton in the beginning of September 1796, for his journey to the South. While passing through Philadelphia, he was invited to preach in the pulpit of Dr. Ashbel Green, and made so favorable an impression, that inducements were held out to him to remain in the city, with a view of taking charge of a congregation there. By the advice of Dr. Green, he at once rejected the proposal and pursued his way to North Carolina. At the time that Dr. Caldwell became connected with the University, its pretensions were very humble. In consequence of the slender patronage extended to it in its infancy, it was more than five years, as we have seen, after the incorporation was passed, before the business of instruction was commenced. A single building of two stories, now known as the East Building, was the only edifice, and that was occupied in part by the Preparatory School. Two instructors only were employed, and the scale of studies was exceedingly contracted when considered as the course prescribed by a University. Throughout the whole establishment, there was much to try the feelings and exercise the patience of those to whom was entrusted the task of maintaining its discipline and communicating instruction. The population of the country was in general rude and uncultured, to a degree of which one, who has not marked the progress of the change, will find it difficult to conceive. The young men, bringing to this place the sentiments and manners which they received from the associates of their earlier days, were but ill-prepared for that quiet devotion to the pursuits of literature and science, without which, the apparatus of professors and libraries and other facilities for acquiring knowledge, can be of little avail. Among the early associates too of Dr. Caldwell, were some of loose principles and corresponding habits, who threw additional obstacles in his way. For these reasons, the early part of his connection with the University was to him a scene of severe suffering and trial; and he seems at first to have been ready to yield to the promptings of his natural inclination, and to have retired from the turmoils and perplexities of his situation, to the less responsible and arduous, though humbler, station he had

left. A record is found on the Journal of the Board of Trustees at that period, of the resignation of his appointment; but he was induced to withdraw it immediately, and to continue at his unpleasant, but honorable post. He then nerved himself with fresh resolution to encounter the difficulties which lay in his path; and, by the exercise of an untiring devotion and unshaken fidelity, aided by a resolution and decision of character, which, though not wholly natural, could not be daunted, he at length brought the unformed mass to a degree of order and respectability, which none can fully appreciate but the associates and successors to his labors. In the formation of his character as the presiding officer of an institution in which were thus met the wildest elements of insubordination, we see a striking illustration of the effects of an unwavering determination to walk in whatever path duty may point out. To those who witnessed the exercise of this character in its full vigor and efficiency, it is scarcely credible, how much it was a formation of the circumstances of his situation, united to a conscientious resolution to make himself useful and honorable in the station he occupied. Yet we have the best reasons for knowing, that, in incipient manhood, he shrunk from every thing like sternness and the rigid enforcement of authority, and was much in the habit of looking to others to determine for him in difficult emergencies. His career at Princeton, it is true, had somewhat broken in upon this gentleness of disposition; but the situation of a subordinate officer of a long established College, was widely different from that of the head of an Institution such as ours was in its infancy, and called for the exercise of very different principles. After seeing and clearly estimating what his new station demanded of him, he shook off every opposing habit and feeling, and gave himself up with a noble resolution, to a faithful and diligent discharge of its duties. How well he fulfilled this resolution, will be attested by many a grateful heart and sympathising bosom throughout our State.

During the first nine years of its existence, no one of the officers of the University was distinguished by the title of President. In 1804, Dr. Caldwell, who had for some time been the presiding officer, and who at all times subsequent to his introduction into the Faculty, had been its master spirit, was elected to the Presidency. He had then been recently married to Miss Susan Rowan, of whom he was deprived three years afterwards by death, as well as of an infant daughter, the only fruit of the marriage. He was again married in 1809, to Mrs. Hooper, who survived him. The limits prescribed for this article, will not admit of any extended detail of the incidents of the period of Dr. Caldwell's life subsequent to his elevation to the Presidency, if indeed it were necessary; but they are best known from their results, so richly scattered over the whole

face of our land, and so manifest in the circumstances in which our institution now stands, as contrasted with its feebleness and immaturity when first confided to his fostering care. After the first few years of his Presidency, the reputation of the University, continually advancing, attracted so many students, that the want of enlarged means of accommodating them became very urgent; and the building now known as the South Building, much the most spacious of all we have, and containing most of the recitation rooms and lecture halls, was commenced and prosecuted, for some time, with vigor. But the Legislature having withdrawn the bounty it had before extended, and divested the Trustees of some of the sources of revenue originally assigned to the use of the University, left them under the necessity of suspending the prosecution of this work, and leaving it in a condition unfit for any useful application. Two years longer the inconvenience of narrow accommodations was submitted to; but the still increasing number of students caused the want of the additional building to become more and more pressing. At length Dr. Caldwell, whose interest in the institution was never confined to the faithful discharge of the duties of his peculiar office, requested of the Trustees permission to make an appeal to the liberality of the friends of education throughout the State. Nor did he appropriate to this business, any portion of his time required by his more immediate duties. During the six weeks vacation of the summer of 1811, he visited such parts of the State as were within his reach, and having headed the subscription list with his own name and a liberal donation, he obtained the sum of \$12,000. This liberal contribution enabled the Trustees to push the work on to completion and thus to secure that patronage, which, in all likelihood, would have been soon withdrawn, in consequence of actual want of room. This well-timed relief gave a new impulse to the progress of the institution in public favor, until additional buildings were once more needed for the reception of students. But the resources of the Trustees had become more ample, and more sufficient to provide all the required accommodations. Having removed this impediment which so seriously threatened the prosperity, if not the very existence of the University, and having seen it grow up from the humble condition in which he found it, to respectability and usefulness, Dr. Caldwell thought that, without hazarding the interests of the institution, he might now yield to the inclination which had never left him, of devoting more time and attention to study, than the duties of the Presidency allowed him, and accordingly, in 1812, he resigned his situation, and returned to the Mathematical Chair. Apart, however, from the preference which he felt and thus indulged, of devoting himself to the task of instruction rather than of direction and discipline, he was contemplating the execution of a literary labor in which he took much interest, and which

remains as a monument of his skill in adapting the details of an abstruse science to the comprehension of the young. We allude to his work on Geometry, which, though not published for some years afterwards, (1822) engaged much of his attention and time during the interval which elapsed between his retirement from the Presidency and his reluctant resumption of it in 1817. The subject is one which, in the ablest hands, does not at the present day admit of much that is strictly original. The most skillful mathematician who undertakes a work of this kind, must content himself with moulding into new forms the materials handed down to him by writers of other times, and with introducing occasionally a demonstration that is new, more lucid, or more direct and brief. The object proposed by Dr. Caldwell in this publication, was to produce a system less extended and tedious than that of *Euclid*, but comprising all the capital propositions of that Geometer, and retaining, throughout his strict and rigid methods of demonstration—an object which he will be allowed by all competent judges to have well and happily accomplished. Upon his resignation of the Presidency, Dr. Robert Chapman was selected by the Trustees as his successor. After holding the office for five years, Dr. Chapman retired in 1817, and Dr. Caldwell was induced to resume the situation, which he continued to hold during the remainder of his life, though not without making efforts to resign it. The distinguished success which attended his labors did not fail to attract attention from abroad, as it excited the admiration and gratitude of the friends of the University at home. In 1816, the Trustees of the College of New Jersey, his alma mater,* conferred on him, by an unanimous vote, the degree of Doctor of Divinity. And subsequently inducements were held out to him by at least two respectable Colleges to change his situation; but he clung to our College with a paternal devotion, commensurate with the obligations it owed him; and, with a determination which appears to have been formed very soon after his first connection with it, he resisted every attempt to draw him to a more lucrative appointment.

After his re-appointment to the Presidency, he pursued the even tenor of his way, dispensing intellectual and moral good through all our borders. One event, with its auspicious consequences, will detain us a few moments, before we come reluctantly to that solemn period, when the shadows of the grave began to gather over his bright and beneficent career. The Trustees having determined to add to the facilities for improvement already enjoyed by the students of the University, a Philosophical apparatus, and additional volumes for the Library, Dr. Caldwell, entrusting the temporary supervision of the College to the Senior Professor who deservedly possessed his and the public's entire confidence, visited Europe, in order to direct, in person, the construction of the apparatus,

and the selection of the books. He sailed from this country in the month of April, 1824, and landing at Liverpool, proceeded immediately to London, to accomplish the object of his voyage. After having put the business in a train that promised to lead to its speedy completion, he passed over into France; and traversing that country, by the route of Paris and Lyons, after visiting the Lower Alps, passed through the western part of Switzerland and Germany, and proceeded down the Rhine as far as Frankfort, whence he returned to London. Subsequently, he visited Scotland; and at length returned to this country, after an absence of ten months. The fidelity and skill with which he discharged the trust confided to him by the Trustees, are abundantly attested by the excellence of the apparatus which now occupies our lecture rooms, and by the value of the addition made to our library. But far the most interesting result of his visit to Europe, was the strong feeling excited in his mind on the subject of internal improvement—a subject, which perhaps engrossed more of his thoughts during some of the last years of his life, than any thing else connected with this world. The sound practical views which he entertained on the introduction of this system into our own State, and which are ably and clearly set forth in the numbers of *Carlton*, have commanded the admiration of every enlightened citizen; and the zeal with which he advocated it on every suitable occasion, and long after disease had impaired the energies of his body, must secure him the lasting gratitude of every true friend of his country. It is well known, that the magnificent project of a railroad to reach from Beaufort to the mountains, originated with him, and was advocated with such ability as to have rendered it a favorite measure of State policy with some of the most enlightened and devoted patriots of our land long before his death, and finally led to the construction of the N. C. Central and Atlantic and N. C. Railroads.

The first access of the disease by which Dr. Caldwell's life was finally brought to a close, occurred in 1828 or 1829; after which period, as he states in a note made in 1831, he was never in the enjoyment of good health. Nearly the whole of the six or seven years which elapsed before the termination of his sufferings, was a period of unremitted uneasiness; during a considerable part of it his bodily sufferings were severe, and often, he was the victim of excruciating pain. He seldom spoke on the subject even to his most intimate friends; and having a singular power of subduing and controlling his emotions, he would often wear upon his countenance a calmness and serenity, that indicated to a stranger, an enjoyment of the blessings of existence; when, to those better acquainted with him, it would be revealed by some involuntary movement, that this appearance of ease and comfort, was not maintained without a powerful

struggle. But the triumph which disease was thus achieving over the body, did not, till the very last hours of his existence, extend to the faculties of his mind, or impair, in the slightest degree, the devotedness of the interest with which he cherished the institution, that for so many years had been the object of his fostering care. It is true, that within the last two years of his life, when acute and unceasing suffering disabled him from taking his wonted share in the business of instruction, he proffered to the Trustees the resignation of his office of President; but it was under an apprehension that he was becoming an incumbrance to the College, and would not be able to make a full return of service for the salary attached to his station. That honorable body with a liberality and feeling of gratitude worthy of them and of him, resisted the attempt made by him to surrender the trust he had received from their predecessors. But to relieve him from the task of instruction, and to secure to him the leisure and tranquility which his age and infirmities demanded, they established an Adjunct Professorship, to provide for his entire withdrawal from the labors of his station. The individual selected by Dr. Caldwell himself to fill this professorship, Walker Anderson, A. M., brought to the filial task, a heart full of veneration and love, and a resolution to fulfil to the uttermost the pious purpose of the Trustees. But though provision was thus made, by the character of the professorship and the disposition of its incumbent, for the entire release of Dr. Caldwell from the business of instruction, he could not be induced to avail himself of the indulgence to the extent proposed, but resolutely persevered, till within three days of his death, in performing as much labor as his fast declining strength was equal to. One half of the ordinary duties of his professorship he reserved to himself, and manifested a settled purpose to abide by this arrangement, by assigning to his adjunct, in addition to the other half, a portion of the general business of the College. Though his frame was racked with unremitting pain, and worn and wasted by sleepless and tortured nights, yet on no occasion, except during an attendance on the Presbytery to which he belonged, and a visit to Philadelphia in a fruitless effort to find relief from his sufferings—on no other occasion did he devolve these reserved duties on his associate, though often and earnestly entreated to do so. "*Sepulchri immemor, struit domos,*" On the Saturday previous to his death, he retired from the lecture room to his bed, from which he never rose again, but under the impulse of his mortal agonies.

The religious character of Dr. Caldwell was not the formation of a day, nor the hasty and imperfect work of a dying bed. His trust was anchored on the rock of ages, and he was therefore well furnished for the terrible conflict that awaited him. We have seen in his autobiography that he

had made religion the guide of his youth ; it beautified and sanctified the labors of his well-spent life ; nor did it fail him in the trying hour, which an all-wise but inscrutable providence permitted to be to him peculiarly dark and fearful. The rich consolations of his faith became brighter and stronger, amidst the wreck of the decaying tabernacle of flesh ; and, if the dying testimony of a pure and humble spirit may be received, death had for him no sting—the grave achieved no triumph. In any frequent and detailed account of his religious feelings, he was not inclined to indulge—the spirit that walks most closely with its God, needs not the sustaining influence of such excitements—yet a few weeks previous to his death, a friend from a distant part of the State calling to see him, made inquiries as to the state of his mind, and had the privilege of hearing from him the calm assurance of his perfect resignation and submission to the will of God. His hope of happy immortality beyond the grave, was such as belongs only to the Christian, and by him was modestly and humbly, but confidently entertained. It was to him a principle of strength that sustained him amidst the conflicts of the dark valley, and to those who witnessed the agonies of his parting hour, a bright radiance illuming the gloom which memory throws around the trying scene. On the evening of the 24th of January, 1835, his terrible disease made its last ferocious assault, with such violence, that he knew that his hour of release was at hand. He gratefully hailed the anxiously expected period, and his house having long since been set in order, he withdrew his thoughts from earthly objects, and calmly looked upon that futurity to whose verge he was come. By the exercise of prayer and other acts of the holy religion which he professed, he strengthened him for the last conflict, and spoke words of consolation and hope, to his sorrowing friends. But death was yet to be indulged with a brief triumph, and for three days his sufferings were protracted with such intensity, that his vigorous and well-balanced mind sank beneath the contest. We willingly drop the veil over the bitter recollections of that hour, and take refuge in those high and holy hopes, which were the last objects of his fading consciousness, and which had lent to the long twilight of his mortal career, some of the light of that heaven to which they had directed his longing gaze. To no one who lived at that time, need we tell of the universal and heartfelt sorrow, with which the intelligence of Dr. Caldwell's death was received throughout the State. Multitudes there were, who felt that they had been deprived of a personal benefactor—of one, whose kindness and the value of whose services to them, are more and more valued, as increasing experience points out the worth of those labors which the young can never fully appreciate. The Trustees of the University, more than one half of whom had been students of the institution while under his charge, be-

came the organs of the public sentiment, in the expression of the general grief. Some of them, with *alumni* and others from abroad, mingled in the train of the bereaved officers and members of the College, in committing to the dust all that remained to them of their departed Father. All that remained, did we say? We look around us, and stand rebuked for the desponding murmur. The labors of a useful life, to use the thought of the old stoic, are like things consecrated to God, over which mortality has no power. "*Hæc est pars temporis nostri, sacra ac dedicata; quam non inopia, non metus non morborum incursus exagitat.*" The pure and patient spirit has long since escaped its narrow and tempest-stricken prison house; the wasted form is now resting from its sore conflict, in the blessed hope of a joyful resurrection, but those consecrated acts of his useful life remain with us, to spread their beneficent influence through successive generations. It is trite remark to speak of the ever-renewed effects of such an influence; but calm observation and reflection abundantly sanction the warm effusions of our grateful admiration. The benefits received from a faithful instructor and guide of our youth, are not only transmitted to our children, but through our whole lives exert a diffusive influence throughout the sphere in which we move. We may say, therefore, without the fear of contradiction, that the whole present generation of the citizens of North Carolina owe to the memory of Dr. Caldwell, gratitude as well as admiration; and that we are indebted to his agency, directly or indirectly, more than to any other individual, for the very remarkable change that has taken place in the moral and intellectual character of our State within the last sixty years. We speak not only of the fruits of his labors, as a faithful instructor and ripe scholar, though it were not an easy task to estimate their extent. We claim not for his tomb, only the sphere and the cylinder which decorated that of *Archimedes*—we speak of the whole moral influence of his life and labors—as a christian minister, an enlightened and active patriot—as one who conscientiously fulfilled all the duties binding him as a man and a Christian; we claim to write upon his tomb the proud but safe defiance—"Ubi lapsus?" The relation in which Dr. Caldwell stood towards a great part of the youth of his day, will justify us in inviting the attention of our younger readers to a brief consideration of the principles of that moral strength, which Dr. Caldwell exerted with such salutary power on all who came within his influence, and in endeavoring to draw from thence some lesson of wisdom or motive to exertion. In allusion to the little knowledge which we possess of the early studies of the illustrious Newton, *Fontenelle* applied to him the idea of the Ancients respecting the unknown source of the river Nile: "No one has ever looked upon the Nile in its feebleness and infancy." But we have been more favored. That magnificent stream which fertilized

and blessed our borders for so many years, we have just been tracing up to its youngest and freshest fountains, and it is permitted us to draw from thence, new draughts of instruction and delight. As in his maturer years, Dr. Caldwell was the guide and governor of young men, so, in his youth, he should be their example. They should learn that it was in his early life, that his character, in its great outlines, was irrevocably fixed; that the honest, candid, generous and open-hearted boy "foreshowed the man" who brought to the engagements and occupations of after life, the same ennobling principles.

His example confirms, what the example of thousands teaches us, that it is not by sudden and solitary acts of volition that men prepare themselves to become conspicuous, in either good or evil; but by a discipline commencing in childhood, and continuing through youth far into maturer life. If it may be permitted us to look into the elements of that mighty intellect which has been prolific of such momentous results—into the "*altæ penetralia mentis*" before which we bow with such reverence and admiration—we would say that Dr. Caldwell was not indebted in any extraordinary degree to the bounty of Nature, for the extent and perfection of his large mental acquirements. To patient and persevering industry his youth was indebted for that wide and solid foundation, on which the patient and persevering industry of manhood reared so noble a superstructure. But that which we have ever esteemed the great primary element of his intellectual excellence, was the perfect accuracy which he gave to his every mental acquisition. However slow, a strict regard to this fundamental quality might make his progress appear, it was never sacrificed to the whispers of indolence, nor to the murmurs of impatience. Whatever progress was made, though it were slow and painful at first, the ground was thoroughly conquered, and every outpost fully occupied; nothing was left unfinished to annoy him by the necessity of constant retrospection, nor to impede his onward march by a sense of insecurity and doubt. Nor is the eventual flight of a mind, thus solicitous about the accuracy and perfection of its first movements, less rapid or less elevated than the towering, but unequal essays of what is sometimes called genius. The latter may at times soar to the highest heavens, but it has often to stoop to earth to repair the deficiencies of its early preparation; while the former, having once surmounted the difficulties and dull delays of its lower flight, thenceforward moves in a purer sky—

Heaven's sunshine on its joyful way,
And freedom on its wings.

Nor, while thus presenting his intellectual character, would we lose sight of the great moving principle of his moral character. In one word, the Religion of Jesus Christ gave direction and efficiency to all his varied

works. To its claims he sacrificed every conflicting passion and propensity of early youth, and it became the easy habit of his manhood and old age.

It has been supposed by some, that the dignity of manner, sometimes approaching to sternness, which characterized Dr. Caldwell's intercourse with the students of the University, was the result of a corresponding sternness of temper. This injurious thought might be easily repelled by the testimony of those who were admitted to the high privilege of social companionship with him, and who could bear witness to the kind and courteous, though still dignified demeanor, which marked all his intercourse with them. Circumstances, easily understood, imparted to his manner, when brought into contact with those under his charge, a certain degree of reserve; which, however, was greatly misunderstood, if regarded as indicating a want of sympathy with their youthful feelings, or a wish to repel them from communion with him. The brief glance which we have taken at the early condition of our College, and its tempestuous elements, which then needed a master-spirit to subdue and control them, reveals to us the necessity there was for that authoritative dignity and decision of character, which, after that period, so eminently distinguished Dr. Caldwell. In obedience to the law which was the rule of his life—the fitting himself to fulfill, in the best possible manner, the duties of the station in which Providence had placed him—he moulded his temper and deportment to the demands of his peculiar situation; and, if in more quiet times he did not entirely recede from the manner which circumstances had forced upon him, something must be forgiven to the inflexibility of habits acquired upon principle, and continued from necessity through many successive years. But who are they who have brought this charge of sternness against his memory? Those who judge hastily and superficially, not those who had the best opportunities of knowing him. They who were brought into the closest contact with him, say that, though hardened vice was ever frowned upon with severity, yet, when ingenuous and honorable contrition was excited, his brow was the first to relax, and his tongue the first to drop the balm of kindness and encouragement.

In his general intercourse, Dr. Caldwell was accessible and courteous, and though in his usual habits, much devoted to study, he relished, in a very high degree, the pleasures of intellectual society. In the various domestic relations of life, he exhibited the kindest and gentlest traits of character; and, with a heart and hand open as the day to melting charity, he was the beloved benefactor of the whole circle in which he moved.

We have endeavored to trace, though with a feeble hand, the incidents of a life so dear to us all, and to unfold some of the traits of that character which has been so long our pride and admiration.

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE TWO

LITERARY SOCIETIES

OF THE

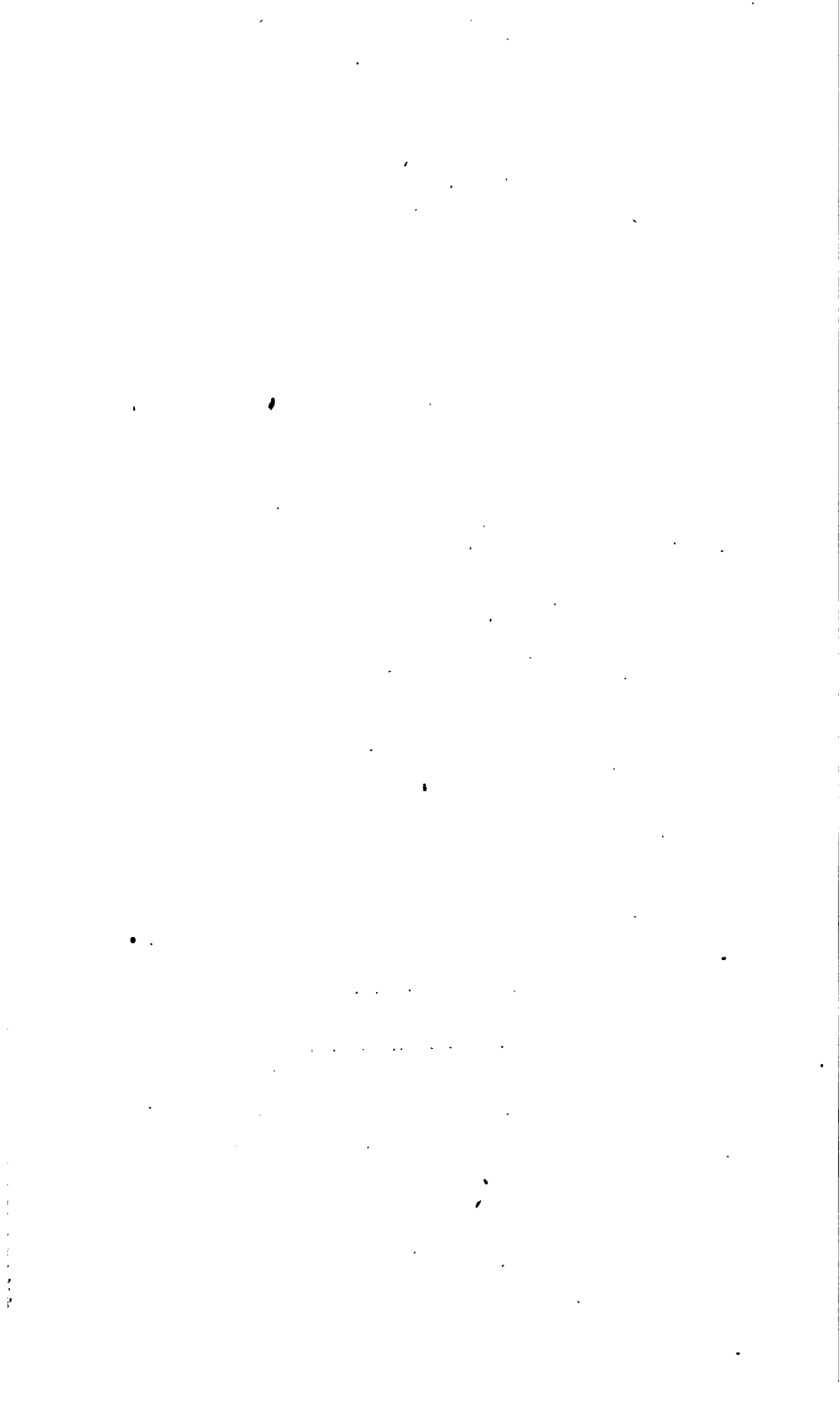
University of North Carolina,

JUNE 6TH, 1860,

BY JOHN POOL, ESQ.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

PHILANTHROPIC HALL,
CHAPEL HILL, July 31, 1860. }

JOHN POOL, Esq.,

Dear Sir:—The undersigned have the honor, in behalf of the Philanthropic Society, to express the great pleasure and sincere thanks of that body for your interesting and appropriate address delivered before the two Societies on the day preceding the last annual Commencement, and to request a copy for publication.

The Committee beg leave to tender you their personal thanks, and add their solicitations to those of the body they represent.

Very respectfully, your obd't serv'ts,

JOEL P. WALKER,
JOHN M. LAND,
F. J. HAYWOOD, JR. } COMMITTEE.

ELIZABETH CITY, August 11, 1860.

GENTLEMEN:—Absence from home has prevented an earlier answer to yours of the 31st of July.

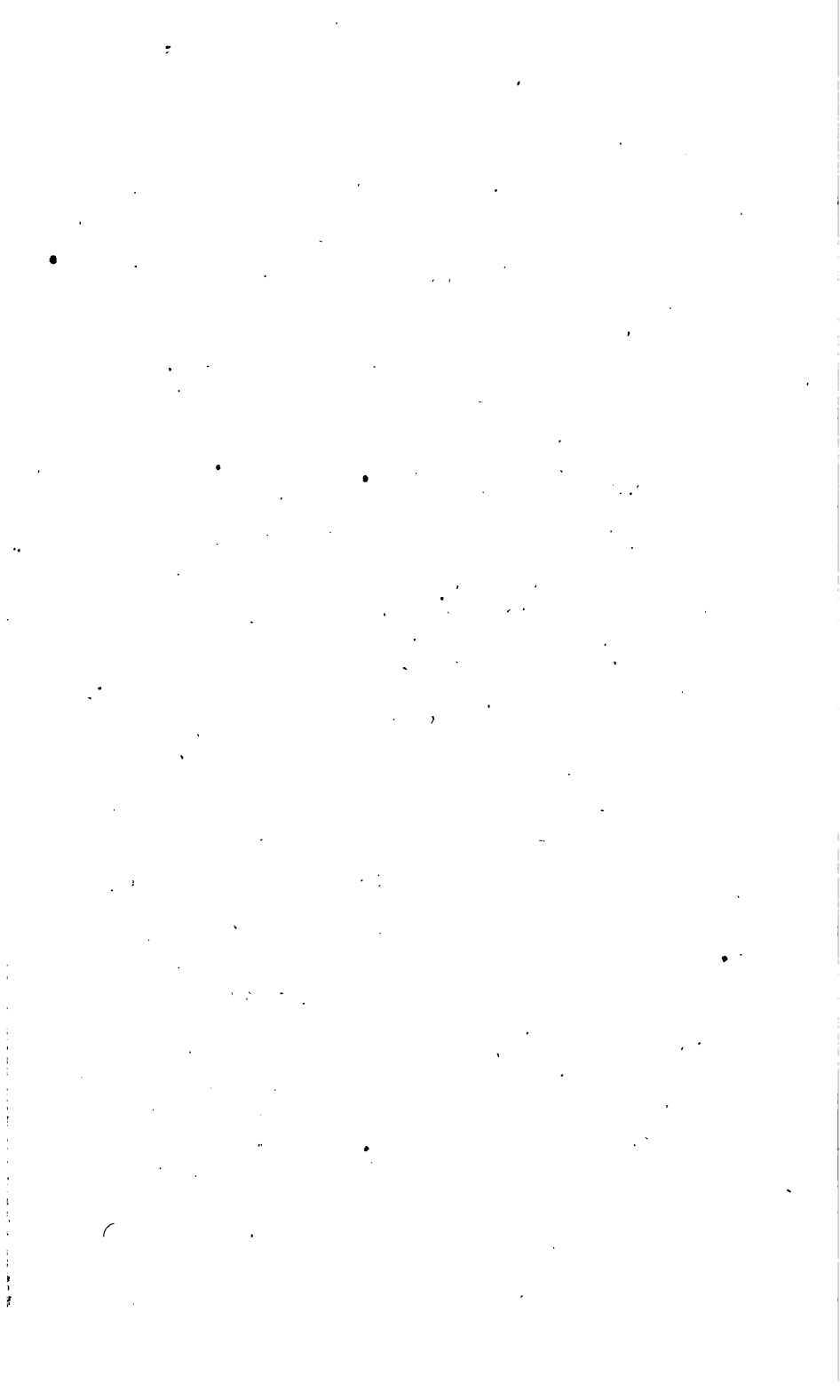
The preparation of the address was interrupted by the labors and excitement of the political canvass just ended, and I am fully sensible of its many defects and want of critical care. But, as is customary, I shall place a copy of it at your disposal.

Allow me to return you my thanks for your expressions of approbation and kindness.

Yours truly,

JOHN POOL.

Messrs. J. P. WALKER, J. M. LAND, F. J. HAYWOOD, Committee.





ADDRESS

GENTLEMEN OF THE PHILANTHROPIC
AND DIALECTIC SOCIETIES:

It is a matter for congratulation to see the increasing interest manifested in the cause of education. The institutions under which we live impose a necessity for a general diffusion of correct and useful knowledge. It may be, therefore, that a sense of patriotic duty, as well as of moral and religious obligation, prompts the zeal shown in all parts of the country in establishing and maintaining seminaries of learning.

This assembly, here to-day, participating in the annual festival of our University, comes to approve the faithfulness of teachers and to encourage students to diligence. Public attention thus directed to the proficiency of merit and to the short-comings of indolence, by presenting an immediate motive for exertion, becomes an incentive to honorable emulation. Such encouragement is of no small importance to those who come here fresh from the gentle influences and indulgent care of parental hands, to find the thoughtless ease and irresponsibility of childhood interrupted by a sterner discipline. Those best skilled in the training of youth testify to its utility. The constitution of the human mind, requires some attainable object in view—some tangible reward of profit or praise—before it can overcome its natural inclination to ease, and bend to the reality of irksome toil. The anticipation of future returns for the sacrifices of the present must be strengthened by some occasional realization, in order to bring out the best energies of any human character. The knight, fighting among the hills of Palestine, though fired with religious zeal and striking in the name of his God and his honor, must needs seek some nearer recompense in the approving smiles of his lady. So the eyes of approving friends, and the visits of a generous public to greet success with honorable applause, gives to the mind of the student new vigor and to his fainting heart fresh courage for the task before him.

The college course so far from being a pathway of flowers should be one of rigid training. The education here obtained is preparatory to the great battle of life, and meant to fit you to become faithful and efficient soldiers. To advance with profit and honor requires no small amount of labor, perseverance and self denial. The mere acquisition of knowledge should not be the primary object. Useful and varied information is certainly a very desirable incident of your literary and scientific studies. But the leading purpose should be to train and discipline the mind—to call it from vagueness and uncertainty to precision and system—that its wandering powers may be collected at will and concentrated upon a

single point—thus bringing into practical use its entire activity and strength. Facts and rules committed to the uncertain keeping of the memory are comparatively useless acquirements. The mind must be made to grasp the principles, and to work out as much as possible by its own exertions, the logical deductions which lead to the truths that it would store away for future use. By no other means can it be qualified to enter successfully upon practical investigation or to rely with any degree of confidence upon the result of its own labors. This work is not in the power of teachers. Their judicious guidance and encouragement may facilitate, but can never insure the leading benefits of a proper education. A careful selection of studies and a well planned routine of intellectual exercises afford much assistance; but after all it rests with the student himself. It is a struggle for mastery over his truant thoughts, to make them the subservient instruments of his will—and the victory cannot be gained without a fixed determination to pursue it with unfaltering purpose. The talisman to success is labor—determined, unflinching labor, until it becomes a habit—a second nature—a positive pleasure. Without it there can be no high degree of mental training. Only by repeated labor are the muscles and eye of the artist trained to works of skill and beauty. By such, the gladiator prepared himself for the deadly lists, and the aspirant for the olive crown became a victor at the Olympic games. The aspirant for intellectual excellence cannot learn too early, that his more exalted aim can be reached by no less arduous means. He will find no road to it over which the rich may roll in chariots of ease while the poor walk in weary toil. Nor can he receive it as a birthright. It will not descend with the manor and the castle and the liveried servants. Neither can the work be done by hired laborers. But, day by day, and step by step, with patience and labor, he must work out for himself the rewards of success. If he attempt to recline upon a bed of roses, or listen to the siren of ease when she sounds her deluding notes, he will never feel the palm of victory press his brow.

Nor can there be any safe reliance upon the native powers of the intellect, however great. It is too often true, that the most highly gifted are the most apt to neglect the proper cultivation of their endowments. Natural gifts of the most brilliant order may be neglected and misapplied, until they become rather a curse than a blessing to their possessor—serving only to make him appreciate more keenly the high estate from which he has fallen—sharpening the pangs of remorse, and adding to the bitterness of regret, the shame of self-condemnation. All are alike subject to the overruling necessity of depending on self-denying labor for the attainment of excellence in any department of life. In the private engagements, in the learned professions, in literature, science and the arts, it operates with the same binding and unavoidable certainty. Circumstances may give advan-

tages, or chance may elevate for a time, but it serves only to make defects more conspicuous, and to increase the mortification of failure. Nothing but individual effort can secure individual excellence. And this is especially applicable to the student, who would bring into usefulness, by wholesome discipline, those exalted gifts with which Providence has endowed man so eminently above all the rest of creation. But it is an object worthy of his best exertions, and within the reach of every one who brings requisite diligence to the undertaking.

It is difficult to over-estimate the power of systematic effort—the magic of concentrated thought. To a mind well trained, obstacles become playthings, and seeming impossibilities vanish on its approach. Instead of begging a pitiful tribute it commands the trophies of triumph. It is this training that imparts to the correctly educated man such facility in the management of the ordinary concerns of life, and such readiness in the discharge of duties the most arduous. Without it, by an uncommon activity and natural quickness of mind, some manage to get along with tolerable success. With some ingenuity and a few flashes of fancy, they may turn attention from the shameful confusion into which they are betrayed by the want of consecutive thought. They may throw upon a matter in hand a kind of flickering light, with now and then a ray of borrowed radiance to penetrate the mist in which they are involved. With some applause, they may play around a subject without ever giving it a manly grasp. But these are mere scintillations of intellect. They catch the empty praise of the ignorant, but can never command the solid approbation of those whose esteem is so gratifying to a man of parts—nor can they secure that which is so much sweeter than all to the cultivated man—the consciousness of intellectual strength and the pride of mental superiority.

Every young man feels that the main object of life is to discharge all its duties with faithfulness and honor. With his mind well-trained, he is prepared to enter upon those duties in any sphere. If he choose any of the learned professions, he brings to the mastery of its principles the undivided powers of his intellect. Its honors and emoluments are within his reach, and wait upon his bidding. He will readily outstrip the many who press into the race before they have trained themselves to run it. If his country call him to her councils, he is able to stand among her benefactors with pride and dignity. If he engage in the unostentatious, but not less honorable, pursuits of humble life, he is saved from manifold perplexities that befall his less fortunate neighbors. Method and precision mark his arrangements, securing in their operation, satisfaction and success. Properly trained and cultivated men are the pride of a nation. To them must be intrusted the intricate affairs of government, requiring acuteness of mind and a well-balanced judgment. Judicial duties, espe-

cially, require that close, discriminating and consecutive thought which can result only from a patient and thorough discipline of the mind. Without men so qualified, any government fails in many of its most important ends; and instead of securing right and upholding truth, justice becomes but a hazard in its tribunals—and ultimately it must be overwhelmed with confusion and disgrace. Happy is the nation and fortunate the age that prepares for its youths the means of fitting themselves to discharge the duties of its exalted stations, and by generous encouragement inspires them to train themselves for a career of usefulness and honor. The high-souled, aspiring young men of our land! They are the jewels of the Republic, the repository of its hopes, the defenders of its destiny! It is for them to be the benefactors of the age. May they prove faithful to their trust, and firm in noble resolve to discharge it to the honor and glory of their country.

But, in addition to public usefulness, educated men may exert a most beneficial private influence. They may elevate the social standard of morals and manners—give tone and character to the circles in which they move—restrain inclination to vice, and by the valued encouragement of their approbation promote whatsoever is virtuous and good. And this private influence upon the masses of the people is no less important than powerful. The human mind is inclined to be subservient, and to bow before the manifestation of superior intelligence and virtue. The great mass of mind requires some master spirit to think for it, and furnish it a model of conduct. Most men look up, for guidance, to some one whose acquirements and virtues have attracted their attention. Those who improve the advantages of a liberal education thus become lights for others to follow, leading them on to whatever is for social improvement and the public good.

Our peculiar political system requires elevating and virtuous influences upon the masses. With us every man is repeatedly called upon to become an active and equal participant in the rights and duties of the body politic. The people impress their character upon the government that emanates from them. If controlled by vicious influences, they may easily overturn the foundations of society; and unfortunately such influences are seldom wanting. To combat them in the private as well as the public walks of life is a duty required at the hands of educated men. All that is desirable in life depends upon the proper management of the feelings and obligations by which society is bound together. None are able to appreciate the extreme calamity which attends the disruption of social order, until they have experienced its misfortunes. The claims of affection—the advantages of private property—the protection of life—and indeed, every blessing which renders civilized existence more desirable than that of a savage, is sacrificed before the demon of social discord.

The responsibility for the preservation of social order and of the blessings of political and religious liberty, rests upon those who have enjoyed superior educational advantages. Let the appreciation of this, stimulate you in your efforts to advance in preparatory attainment. Duty, patriotism and interest unite in urging you to diligence. With manly purpose and cheerful hearts, may you push on to the realization of the brilliant hopes that are centered in you. "A youth of labor" will surely be crowned by an age of honor. May no regret for opportunities neglected and the prime of life wasted, hang over your heads to cloud declining years, and haunt the walks of after-life with phantoms of remorse and shame. A duty well performed is no less a blessing to ourselves than a profit to others. Though it involve the sacrifice of present ease and require submission to the inconvenience of uncongenial toil, steady perseverance will bring a recompense more than commensurate with all the privations endured, in the unrivaled pleasure of self-approbation, and the consciousness of a well acted part and a life well spent.

These considerations of duty and usefulness have, doubtless, had their due weight upon your conduct while here preparing yourselves to enter actively upon the theatre of life. But there is another view perhaps more closely connected with your individual happiness, which should prompt you in your literary labors. You must expect to meet in your course through the world, with disappointments and misfortunes. They are unfailing incidents of earthly existence. No heart can be successfully nerved against their depressing influence. Amid them all there is no retreat, apart from religion, to be relied upon with so much certainty as that which every man may prepare and possess within himself—a clear conscience and the resources of intellectual enjoyment. They are possessions of which no man can deprive him—above the contingencies of chance and change—a part of his being—essentially his, by virtue of no human statute, but in obedience to the immutable laws of Nature and of Nature's God. And though he may not, as suggested by Cicero, carry them with him as a personal possession into the realms of the future world, yet surely the cultivation of the intellect partakes of divinity, and ennobles and elevates and refines that wonderful principle within us, which we are taught must live forever.

A taste once formed for literary pursuits is of priceless value. A rich field is spread before the votary, and he is invited to partake of the refined pleasures that are found in its walks. He has a world of his own into which he may retire, when pressed too hardly by the stern realities of that around him. It is peopled with the brightest creations of human fancy and decked with the legacies of the greatest and purest minds of earth. The present may be set aside for the feelings of other men and other times. There is food for all the higher emotions and impulses of the heart, to

entertain and please while it enriches with the accumulated stores of the wisdom of ages.

It is to be regretted that such taste has not been more generally diffused in this country. Its beneficial effects would soon manifest themselves upon the character of our people, purifying the tone of conversation—improving social intercourse, and elevating the standard of morals and manners.

In your course, thus far, you have already met these pleasures. Your toils have been enlivened in searching out half-hidden gems of thought, and your weary minds refreshed in grasping exalted sentiments and elucidating beautiful truths. You have learned that even upon the dreaded cliff and among the rough rocks, many a modest little rose hides its blushing head—many a limpid fountain gushes out to delight the traveller with its gentle murmur—and many a sylvan grotto invites him to short repose beneath its scented shades. In learning it is not distance but approach that

“Lends enchantment to the view,
And robes the mountain in its azure hue.”

Is it not intellectual feasting to read with understanding the classic writers in their native tongues, and without an interpreter to hold communion with the illustrious dead?—to hear the very accents of the matchless eloquence of Athens and Rome—to reverence the deep philosophy of Socrates, or listen to the sweet love-notes of Pindar?—to appreciate the withering sarcasm of Juvenal, partake of the heroic enthusiasm of Virgil, and revel in the manly beauties of Horace? There is indeed sublimity in thus holding converse with the philosophers and orators and poets of ancient times—in pondering over their wisdom, imbibing their spirit, loving their beauties, and becoming familiar with their emotions—until we feel that between us and them, there has scarcely been

“A single earnest throb
Of Time’s old iron heart.”

I cannot urge upon you too earnestly the practical usefulness of cultivating such taste. It is commenced here, and should be pursued through after life in whatever sphere you move, as the most delightful and satisfactory of that circle of innocent pleasures which Addison so wisely recommends us to enlarge. It improves the mind and refines the feelings, while it affords the most satisfactory recreation amid the cares and toils of life. Vicious habits have few charms for the man who delights to spend his leisure hours in pursuits like these—while all the nobler and higher impulses and aims find ready access to his heart. It gives additional sweetness to the joys of youth, strengthens the worthy purposes of maturer manhood, and consoles declining age in its sober walk “upon the shores of that great ocean it must sail so soon.”

And, because more particular reference has been made to manly duties, it is not meant to be intimated that the same training and taste is not equally important to the cultivated lady. Her thorough education should not be neglected. Though she hope not to amass wealth by enterprise and well-planned speculation—nor by her eloquence to command the “applause of listening Senates”—still, she may have her reward in the sweet pleasures of literary pursuits and in the praise of a well-ordered household.

But in addressing an assembly of educated young men, it must not be overlooked that probably many among them are ambitious to have their names enrolled among the great of the earth. Looking above the humbler positions in life, they gaze upon the dazzling promises of fame, rising in the dim future, and inflaming the energies of the soul in pursuit of the exalted ends which the day-dreams of imagination present as attainable realities. If prompted by worthy motives this ambition merits sympathy and encouragement. The young are too often taught to regard such impulses as pointing only to empty visions, deluding their followers with vain hopes, ever receding on approach, and making the heart sick with repeated disappointments. Such may be the experience of the faint-hearted, who grow weary by the way and loiter and turn back. But there are numberless examples teaching a different lesson. All depends upon the man himself. Steady perseverance will surmount the most formidable obstacles, and difficulties vanish at the touch of diligent application. Success, though withheld for a time, must sooner or later follow in the train of faithful exertion.

All that has been said in reference to mental training applies with still greater force to him who would press after the rewards of successful ambition. His mind must furnish the armor and the weapons for the conflict. His steel must be tempered in the furnace of self-denial, and burnished by the dreary toil of many a midnight watching. The temptations of pleasure and ease are the lurking foes that hang upon his way and seek to surprise him at every turn. His visor must never be raised at their approach, and the out-posts of thought must be guarded with never-flagging vigilance. There must be resistance and labor—a constant *bivouac* of the reason and will, until he has mastered himself. His mind must, indeed, be to him a kingdom—a kingdom, in which an iron law is administered by a stern, unflinching judge—and he must be the absolute despot, whose word is that law, and whose will is that judge. But when he is once seated upon his intellectual throne, he is a king indeed—

“A king of thought, a potentate,
Of glorious spiritual state—
A king of thought, a king of mind—
Realms unmapped and undefined—
Crowned by God’s imperial hand,
Before him as a king to stand.”

To a mind thus trained, failure can scarcely be predicted in any undertaking within the compass of human means. It proceeds with such far-seeing precision and force, that its way seems paved in advance, and circumstances combine to favor its schemes. What seems darkness to others becomes light on its approach—confusion becomes system, and hazard certainty. Destiny is sometimes credited with its achievements; and indeed, fortune does seem, at times, conscious of a master's presence, changing her frowns into unexpected and almost servile smiles.

It matters little in what road the talents of a man thus trained are turned. Usefulness and honor are before him in every direction. The false teachings of pretenders, the errors of ignorance, and the designed innovations and abuses of selfish schemers are everywhere to be met and reformed. Theology, science and general literature, and the learned professions equally invite his labors and hold out their bright promises of reward. I offer no advice in the choice of pursuits; but it is to be regretted, that in this country, political aspirations have so much engrossed the talent of youth and turned it from other fields of labor. Under our peculiar political system, the honors and emoluments of office being open to every grade and class, early ambition has been blinded to the more certain and durable fame attainable in other pursuits. Political eminence and fame are subject to the detractions of calumny and the misrepresentations of partizan prejudice. The magic powers of the orator are limited in their operation, and his renown seldom survives the changing sentiments of a few generations; while eminent writers in theology, law and general literature, hand down their names as household words to posterity, and the achievements of science continue for ages to enlighten and improve mankind. If the inclination of the best talent of our country to seek the political arena, as the theatre of its exertions, could be restrained, it would soon remove the principal defect in our national character. Our literary progress has not been commensurate with our advancement in material greatness and political weight. It presents a national want, and those who supply it will secure to themselves undying fame. Our country has been the pioneer in those great principles of civil right which now characterize the spirit of the age, and we must trust to the present generation of aspiring young men to attain for it the same preëminence in other things which contribute to a nation's glory.

The fields of romance and poetry offer an inviting harvest. Whoever takes to himself the first position of American genius, in this branch of literature, will acquire a name as bright as any in the annals of the world. And why may not America have a place as elevated, in this department, as any other land? She has as much to inspire the imagination and kindle the flame of the Muses. Her mountains are unsurpassed in grandeur and beauty—and lovely streams flow from their bosoms, with murmuring

audience as sweet as ever lulled the Arcadian shepherd to repose or mingled with the soft notes of his pastoral reed. There are scenes of as glorious deeds as heralds ever sounded in the triumphal procession of returning conquerors. There rural loves are as warm and pure. The angels who visited, near Eden, the daughters of men, found no lovelier spots or cooler shades, or fairer forms, or warmer hearts. They are all here, inviting a minstrel to sing their praise. And, above all, liberty has made them her home, and having erected here the blessed temple of her retreat, awaits some bright genius to arise and herald the enchantment of her new abode.

The different branches of science have their peculiar attractions. In chemistry, mathematics and sound philosophy, modern advancement has far exceeded the wisdom of ancient times. England and other countries have run up a record of immortal names. Let us rival their greatness, and yield to them no longer the highest places in the temple of fame. Ambition cannot covet a renown more lasting than his who gains eminence in unlocking the mysterious truths of nature. In this we can already boast many practical achievements which have conferred real benefits on mankind, opening to the world new themes of investigation and making their impress upon the age. But much remains still to be done. Geology is in its infancy, and scarce emerging from the unfounded prejudices with which its early revelations were received. Many are laboring to add to the store of its facts, or are drawing valuable deductions from its established truths. There are many "favored localities" in this country, inviting an explorer to bring them to the attention of the world. Intimately connected with natural history and comparative anatomy and the leading principles of chemistry, it requires much acuteness of perception, close observation of hidden relations, and withal the most laborious and patient research. But its ultimate development promises such an insight into the wonderful history of the earth, with all its myriad forms of life, marking the beginning and end of measureless periods and recording the work of the great creative hand in the rise and fall of species and dynasties in the vegetable and animal kingdom, long before the human intellect shone upon the scene, that it may well challenge the best exertions of talent, and hold out to the successful explorer the prospect of renown commensurate with civilization, and as immortal as that of the hero wearing the laurels of a hundred battles.

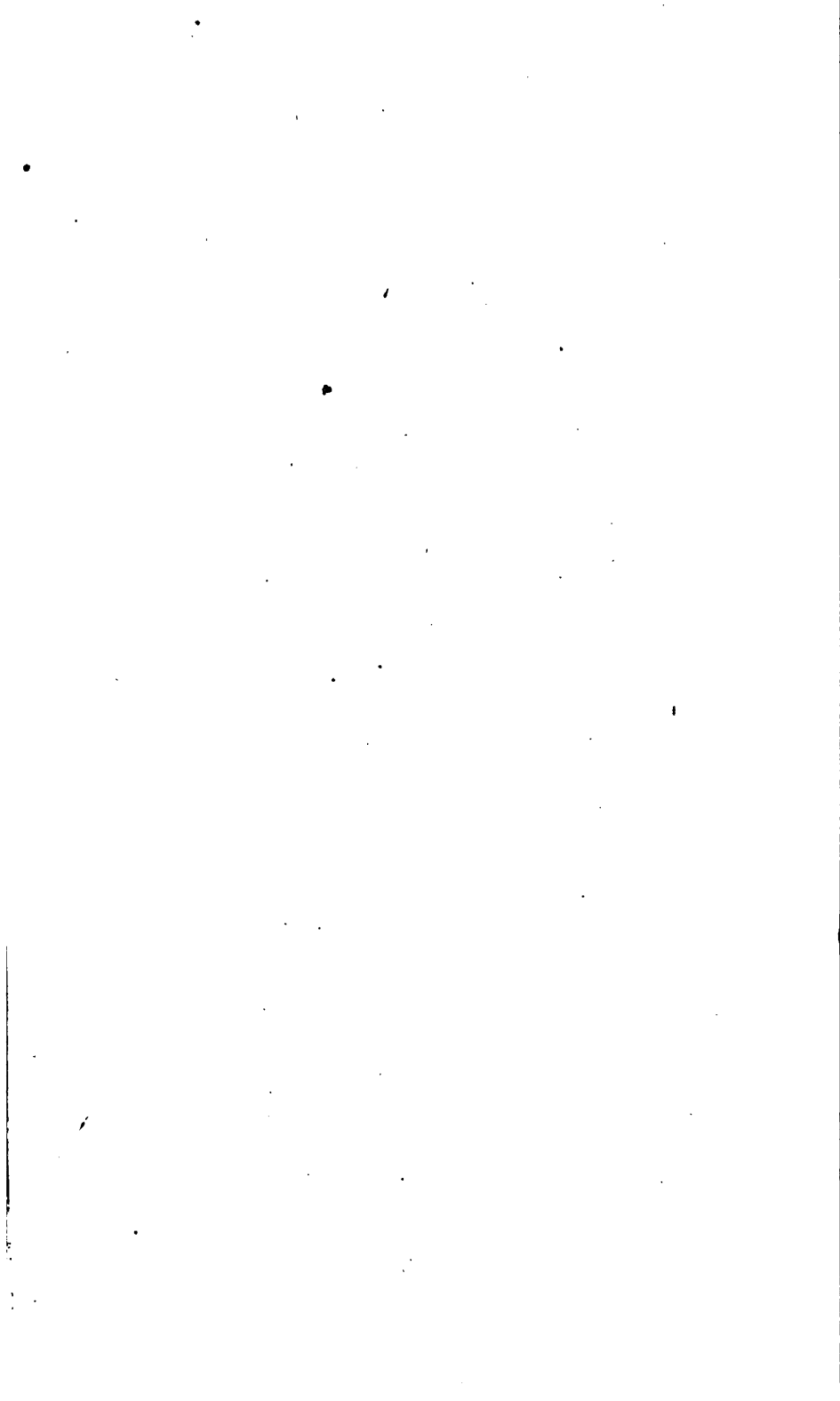
But, I am not advising the choice of pursuits. Every man must consult his inclination and the leading points of his own character. If crowned by piety and other requisite virtues, great attainment can nowhere be more worthily employed than in the sublime labors of the pulpit and its incidental duties. The mysteries of revelation are food for the closest thought. While the human heart is inclined to evil, there will be

necessity for the best efforts of thoroughly trained ability to enforce those great truths upon which depends the welfare of nations, no less than of individuals. Infidelity assuming milder names, will continue to lurk in high places, undermining the foundations of morality and sowing the seeds of vice. It is not so much among the more ignorant classes; for there the natural impulses of the heart are not checked by that skepticism which too often attends a little learning half mastered and falsely understood. It is chiefly among those who, having some pretension to acquirements, have yet not had the leisure or inclination to push it to that elevated point from which the surrounding view would humble them at the utter insignificance of human knowledge; and where amid the floating mists and the infinity of incomprehensible truths, they would feel the necessity for a higher hand to direct and guide:—where bowing before visible mysteries beyond the farthest grasp of their nature, they would humbly appreciate the wisdom which has revealed so much, and be struck with wonder and admiration at the sublime simplicity by which it is brought within the compass of human thought. To be learned only to that point where conceit begets doubts of all things beyond its reach, is equally unfortunate to the man himself and to those under the influence of his fancied elevation. It casts upon nature a pall of darkness, hushing its struggling suggestions and leading to despondency and moral ruin. The skepticism of the partially learned is the stronghold to be attacked, and once carried, infidelity loses its respectability, having no abode but in the heart of revolting depravity, or in the baseless visions of the monomaniac's dreams. The man of well trained powers, commanding from the partially learned attention and respect, is often able to impress them with sound doctrine when enforced by clear reasoning and dressed in the drapery of genius. He may expand their narrow views by superior learning, and by logical precision lead them up to a purer height, where the appeals of eloquence and the force of his character may open a way for the holy rays of truth and reason. True greatness can have no nobler purpose, nor one requiring a more careful cultivation of its endowments. What can exceed the glory of him, who, having trained himself with much labor, and having warred with vice and ignorance and laid broad and deep the foundations of purity and truth, rests from his toil, to exchange the crown of moral and intellectual splendor which he has won in this world, for the brighter crown promised in the world to come?

But those who seek eminence in this country look principally to political elevation. The gates of honor being open to capability and virtue in every grade of life, there will continue to be many aspirants. Perhaps it should not be discouraged. There can be no loftier aim than a place among the honored rulers of a nation of freemen—to merit their honest preference and assist in directing their progress to national greatness and prosperity.

This age and country present not only an opportunity, but an actual need for the exercise of the highest moral and intellectual excellence to which human nature can attain. Prepare then to deserve the confidence of your country, and let no consideration ever tempt you to betray it. Be ready to sacrifice personal ambition to public duty. Be slow to give ear to temporary excitements, and never swerve from right to appease the threatening clamors of faction. We have a country great and free; none has ever presented a career so glorious, or conferred in the same length of time so many blessings upon mankind. The influence of its institutions has spread into every land where civilization finds a home, and the fruits of its industry have clothed and fed suffering millions. The oppressed of every land stretch their arms to us, and prefer for our welfare their earnest petitions to heaven. Every heart that throbs in a human bosom, has an interest staked. Our past is bright and glorious—in the present are threatening clouds—the future is darkness. Where are the high-souled youths in whose hearts is cherished the manly purpose to train themselves in wisdom and virtue, to take charge of that future and gild it with the light of the past? Their names shall be among the brightest on the scrolls of fame, and all the tongues and kindreds of the earth shall call them blessed. And when those who now tread the scene shall have passed away and left to your keeping the precious destiny of the States united and free, let no link drop from that golden chain—cling to your inheritance in every particle of the soil hallowed by the blood of your fathers, divide not their renown, for it is yours, and acknowledge no banner but that which reflects from its stars the remembrance of their glory.

But whatever your aim, the matter of first importance is the formation of a right character. The only sure foundation is uncompromising integrity. Whatever is built upon any other, will be undermined by the currents of temptation, or overthrown by the storms of passion. The seductions of temporary interest and the blandishments of vice keep their sleepless vigils to entice and betray. In the walks of private life cultivate the social virtues, and they will light your households with incalculable blessings. If you tread the road of ambition, bear before you the shield of integrity and truth, and it will repel the assaults of your enemies. If misfortunes befall you, the proudest consolation is a clean heart and an honor untarnished. Bear ever in mind, that to be truly great or useful or happy, we must be truly good. Of all training, the best is the training of the heart. Intellectual splendor dies with the things of earth, but intellectual purity is an inheritance for eternity.



NORTH CAROLINA:

HER PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.

AN ADDRESS,

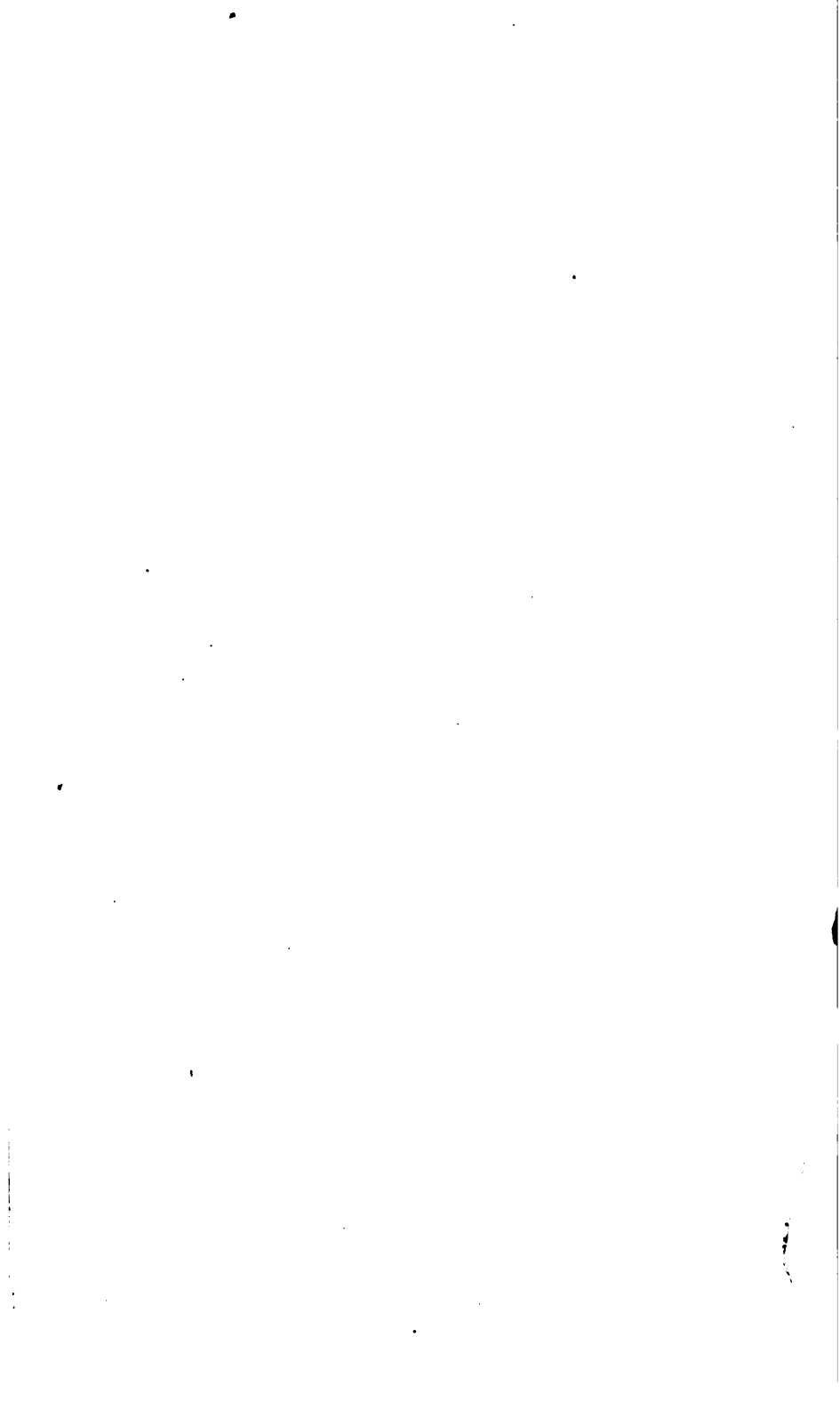
DELIVERED BEFORE THE FACULTY AND STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF NORTH CAROLINA, AT THE COMMENCEMENT,
JUNE 8TH, 1870.

BY JOHN H. WHEELER,

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA.



RALEIGH, N. C.:
"STANDARD" STEAM BOOK AND JOB PRINT.
1870.



UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,

CHAPEL HILL, June 13th, 1870.

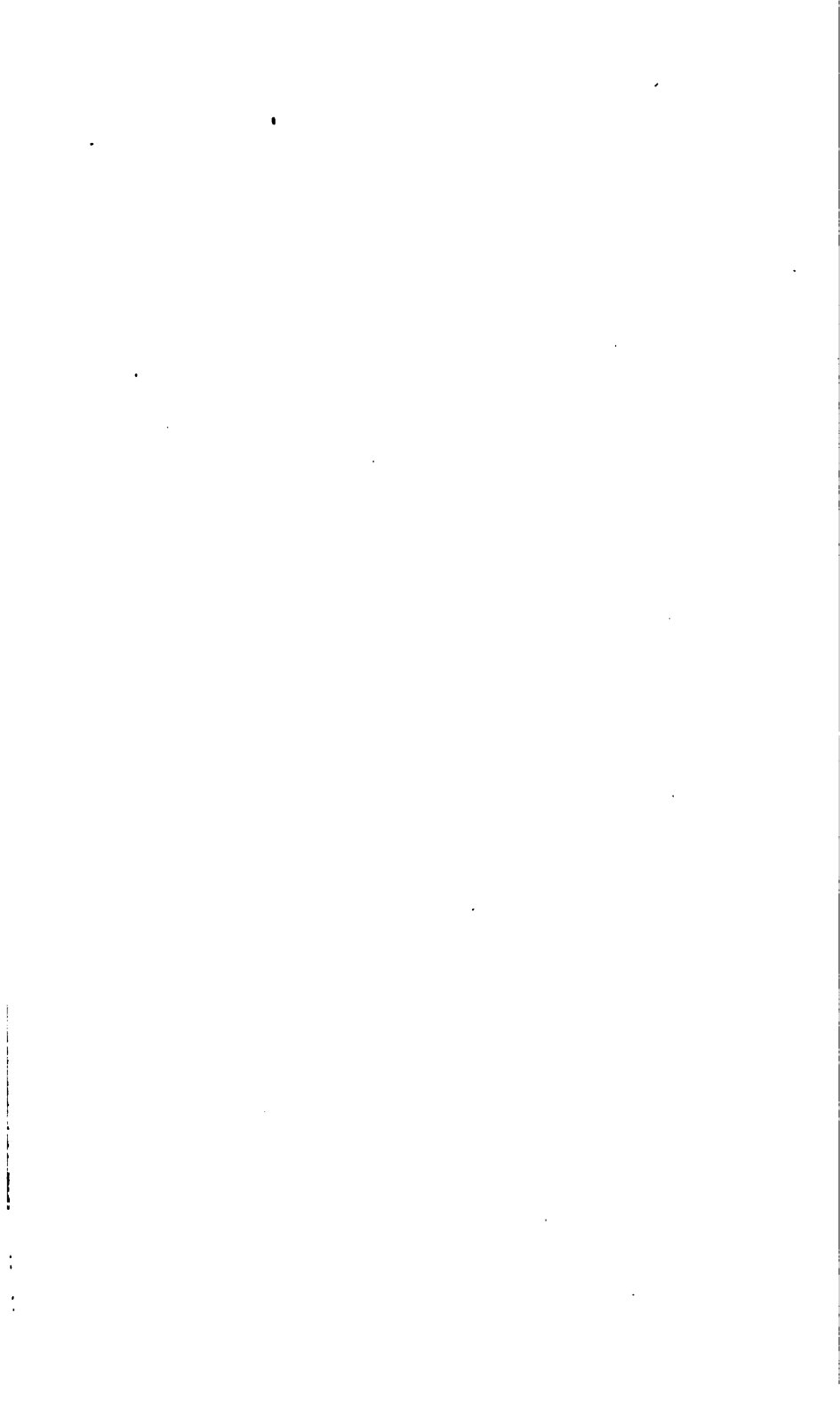
COL. JOHN H. WHEELER :

Dear Sir :—I have the honor to inform you that at a meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina, held on the 9th of June, inst., in the University Library Hall, a resolution was unanimously passed thanking you for the very able and instructive Address which you delivered on the Past, Present and Future of North Carolina, and requesting a copy for publication.

Very respectfully,

ALEXANDER McIVER,

Secretary.



ADDRESS.

MY RESPECTED AUDIENCE:

I appear before you at the bidding of the President and Faculty of this venerable and renowned Institution.

I fear, from the pressure of important duties, which I could neither neglect nor delay, that I shall not succeed in interesting so appreciative an audience. But I must rely on your kindness, and that your patriotism will, from the interesting and instructive subject, excuse the unsatisfactory manner with which it may be treated. My subject is "NORTH CAROLINA: HER PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE."

In treading again these classic halls where, nearly a half a century ago, I was honored with a diploma, emotions too full for utterance crowd around me. The once familiar and friendly faces, where are they? Many, very many, sleep "that sleep that knows no waking here." Their children and their children's children are around me: these are cherished with paternal affection. Like the patriarch Israel, I feel "It is enough—Joseph my son is yet alive. I will go down and see him before I die."

The past history of North Carolina is full of interest, and worthy of your attention and study. It presents a record of thrilling incidents and of ennobling virtues. No study in the range of human knowledge has a more useful and salutary effect than History. Its tendency is useful and of moral elevation. It is useful, for by the study of the past we may anticipate the future. The wise man tells us, "The thing that has been, is that which will be; and that which is done, is that

which shall be done; and there is nothing new under the sun." The great poet of nature, Shakespeare, adds his testimony :

"—— There is history in all men's lives:
Figuring the nature of times deceased;
The which observed, a man may prophecy,
With a near aim, the main course of things
As yet not come to pass."

Men in the aggregate, or man in the segregate, under the same influences, and surrounded by similar circumstances, will usually act in the same manner. This is evinced by the history of every age; for history continually repeats itself. By aid of the faithful record we can see how the great and good have acted, and be inspired by their example.

Not only has history this effect, but by its study we become familiar with the acts and words of the wise and good; as a kind friend, history introduces us into their society, and we learn the lessons of wisdom and experience. With the mighty sorcery of her of Endor, it summons to our presence "the dead out of the earth" and enables us to hold converse with the wise of every age. Truly does Fuller in his *Holy War* say, that "History maketh a young man to be old without either wrinkles or gray hairs; privileging him with all the experience and wisdom of age without the infirmities or inconveniences thereof." To youth, the tendency of such studies is of high moral elevation, and creates emulation. The ancient Romans adorned their public halls with the statues of their patriots, to be gazed on by their youth. Sallust informs us :

"Nam sæpe, audiui Q. Maximum et P. Scipionem, præteræ civitatis nostræ preclaros viros, ita dicere, cum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet, non ceram illam, neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere—sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere. Neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquavit."*

* Sallust Jurg. bellum.

What youth, when he gazes on the statue of the Father of our Country, that ornaments our State (as well as our National) capitol, is not inspired by his noble character; and like him live pure, honest and virtuous, and be willing like him to die for his country.

The early history of any nation has always been to its people a subject of the deepest interest. The Israelites, the earliest nation which history presents to us, dwelt with great satisfaction on the fact that their people were the chosen of God. Their historians and poets revelled in the record that He was the director of their fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob—that He delivered them from oppression and captivity—that He guided them by “a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night” to the promised land. The ancient Greeks asserted that their founders were divine, and the Roman historians record that Romulus, the founder of “the Eternal City,” was a descendant from their gods.

Happily for our nation, we are not compelled, as were the Greeks and Romans, to tax our patriotic credulity with any fabled tradition. From the civilization of the age and the art of printing the founders of our republic are well known. “No fabled fugitive from the flames of Troy, no Norman tyrant first landed on our shores.” The very names of the ships in which *they* crossed the stormy ocean, and their commanders, are well known. The spot can be shown on which their wearied feet rested on our shores. Their privations and sufferings, their valor and their virtues are known and appreciated. To no portion of these United States can this be more appropriate than to North Carolina. It is true, beyond all doubt, that the first Englishman that landed on these United States rested on her shores, on Roanoke Island, (in July 1584;) that in her quiet precincts the first blood of the colonists was spilled by English arms in defence of liberty, at Alamance, in May, 1771; and the first declaration of independence of the English yoke was made at Charlotte, 20th May, 1775. And, too, here was the first child of English parents born, whose

name, at the last session of the Legislature, has been handed down to posterity, by the erection of the county of Dare.*

It was just about this period of the year, 286 years ago, under a charter from the Virgin Queen, (Elizabeth,) that two ships were equipped by that statesman and soldier, Sir Walter Raleigh, "the man of wit and the sword," as he was tauntingly termed by his virulent opponent, Sir Edward Coke, and placed under the command of Phillip Armidas and Arthur Barlow. On the 4th day of July, 1584, they landed on Roanoke Island—a day since consecrated in history—and took possession of the same "*in the name of Elizabeth of England as ye rightful Queene and Princesse thereof.*" Here, in the words of the historian Hakluyte, they found "a people most gentle, loving and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and lived after the manner of the golden age."

Then and here was the birth-place of this now mighty empire. *Here* was the cradle which rocked this infant nation, whose gigantic limbs now extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific. *Here*, before Jamestown was settled, or the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, was first displayed "the meteor flag of England," which for centuries has "braved the battle and the breeze."

The colonists on Roanoke Island, from causes which would not be in place to detail on this occasion, were compelled to abandon the settlement; and it was more than sixty years before another settlement was made which became permanent.

"North Carolina," says Bancroft, "was settled by the freest of the free. When the man of God (Fox) came to visit these people, he states he found a tender people who listened to his message with tender hearts. 'Here,' he says, 'was a colony

* "As early as 13th day of August, 1584, at Raleigh's colony on Roanoke Island, North Carolina, the native chieftain, Manteo, was admitted into fellowship of Christ's flock by Holy baptism, and five days afterwards Eleanor, daughter of the Governor and wife of Ananias Dare, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoke, and ye same was christened there the Sunday following, and because this childe was the first christian born in Virginia shee was named Virginia Dare."—*Hakluyte III*, 314.

of men in civilized life, scattered among forests ; hermits with wives and children, resting upon the bosom of nature in perfect harmony with their gentle clime.' ”

To these people, in the autumn of 1663, was George Drummond sent, as Governor, by Sir Wm. Berkley, one of the Lords Proprietors, under the charter of Charles II.

It is no less true than remarkable that both the projector of the colony, Sir Walter Raleigh, and its first Governor received at the hands of power the same unmerited fate—one was beheaded and the other hanged. But their names can never die. As long as the oak shall grow, our capital shall perpetuate the name of the one, and as long as “the fire fly lamp” shall shine over the pellucid waters of “the lake of the Dismal Swamp” shall the name of Drummond be preserved.

The charter of Charles II., dated in 1663, granted to the Duke of Albemarle and others all the present State, and running west to the Pacific ocean. What an empire would North Carolina have been had she retained her original proportions ! This grant would include Tennessee, Arkansas, a part of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and Southern California.

The charter of Charles II. was transferred by the Lords Proprietors, except Lord Granville, to the English Crown in 1729 ; under which the colony remained until 1776, when the revolution commenced and our independence of England was achieved.

The Governors, appointed by the Lords Proprietors and afterwards by the Crown, sent home, monthly, or as often as opportunity occurred, official reports of every transaction in the colony. Every event is narrated and every individual is described in these despatches with marvellous minuteness. These are all now on file in the offices of the Board of Trade and Colonial Department, in London, and afford a perfect photograph of every individual and event during this period.

They are of the deepest interest, and without them no history of the State can be complete.*

In 1776 Richard Caswell was Governor, and from him to the present incumbent a regular succession can be traced. The career of the State during this period can be marked in its onward course. And such material is the past of North Carolina. I could wish that time and the opportunity would allow to present the characters and events during the administration of each of these, for this would be a perfect record of the past events of our State. But we will pass on with the observation, that the names of the rulers of North Carolina, among these, Caswell, Spaight, Davie, Hawkins, Branch, Iredell, Stokes, Swain and Morehead, present every quality that can dignify our nature. The parts which they acted in the spirit-stirring events of 1776, (the Revolutionary war,) 1812, and other periods, prove their wisdom, courage and patriotism. The State under such sagacious rulers increased in population, production and resources.

				RATIO OF INCREASE.
The population in 1790	was	393,751		
	(3d State in Union,)			
"	"	1800	was 478,103	21.42
"	"	1810	" 555,500	16.19
"	"	1820	" 638,829	15.
"	"	1830	" 737,987	15.52
"	"	1840	" 753,419	2.09
"	"	1850	" 869,039	15.35
"	"	1860	" 992,622	14.12

* From a census taken in 1776, forwarded by Governor Tryon, the colony had 16,183 white, 13,923 colored, 48,610 taxables.

Governor Burrington, in an official despatch to the Duke of New Castle, Feb. 20, 1732, thus describes the people of North Carolina:

"The inhabitants of North Carolina are not industrious, but subtle and crafty to admiration—always behaved insolently to their Governors—some of them they have imprisoned; at other times set up two or three supported by men under arms. All the Governors that ever were in this, lived in fear of the people (except myself) and dreaded their assemblies. The people are neither to be cajoled or outwitted. Whenever a Governor attempts to effect any thing by these means he will lose his labour and show his ignorance."—*From Public Records London, America and West Indies*, vol. 22, p. 122.

North Carolina, from being the third State in population in 1790, (Virginia being first and Pennsylvania second, ahead of New York and Massachusetts,) she, in 1860, falls to the twelfth State, behind even her daughter Tennessee.

Of the Present I am now to speak :

The State of North Carolina, extending from 33 degrees 53 minutes to 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, contains about 50,704 square miles, and about 32,000,000 of acres, about six million and a half of which, only, is cultivated. As compared with the other States of the Union, North Carolina is the 21st in size, having nearly the same territory as New York, Pennsylvania and Tennessee. In population, in 1860, it had 992,622 ; by the coming census its population will exceed a million. It is the twelfth State in population, being a little less than Georgia and a little more than Alabama. It has 22 inhabitants to every square mile. Its length, from the Atlantic ocean to the Tennessee line, is about 500 miles, and its mean breadth, from north to south, 100 to 150 miles. An air line from an extreme eastern point in North Carolina to the extreme western point in Cherokee county, is a greater distance than from Raleigh to Niagara Falls. The largest county in population is Wake, 28,627 ; and in territory, the county of Jackson, 1,308 square miles. The smallest in population is Alleghany, 3,890 ; and the smallest in territory, is Currituck,* or perhaps her little unchristened daughter Dare—though for want of a good topographical map of the State this may be questioned. The character of the State demands a complete survey by competent engineers. Guilford county is the most densely populated, having 33 persons to every square mile.

As to her productions in agriculture, according to the last census North Carolina was the fourth State in the Union as to Tobacco, producing 32,853,950 pounds, Virginia, Kentucky and Maryland being in advance of her. She was the second State as to Sweet Potatoes, producing 6,140,039 bushels, Georgia

* Guide to Capitalists and Emigrants, Raleigh, 1869.

being the first. The tenth as to Corn, producing 30,078,564 bushels, about thirty bushels to each inhabitant—Indiana being the first, Missouri second, Ohio third. The fifteenth as to Wheat, producing 4,743,706 bushels, Illinois being the first, Wisconsin the second and Indiana the third. North Carolina produced 145,514 bales of Cotton, 400 pounds each, 2,781,860 bushels of Oats, and 7,598,976 pounds of Rice.

The State differs in its soil, products and climate in its different sections. It may be physically divided into

1. The Coast and Swamp Land section, extending from the sea shore to a line drawn from Edenton to Wilmington ;
2. The Middle section, consisting of the section from this belt to the foot of the mountains, and
3. The Mountain or Piedmont region, extending to the Tennessee line.

I. The First Section abounds in valuable timber, such as cypress, cedar or juniper, oak, maple, of great value. A single cypress tree has made \$100 worth of shingles. The soil, of great and enduring fertility, is easily worked, producing from 30 to 50 bushels of corn, 400 to 600 pounds of cotton and from 10 to 20 bushels of wheat per acre. There are fields in Hyde county that have been cultivated for 100 years without rest, and without fertilizers, and still produce heavily.

The water courses and sounds afford easy and cheap transportation to market. Immense beds of marl afford ample fertilizers. The pine trees yielding the best of turpentine and lumber. The fisheries are the largest in the country for shad, herring and rock, and are so productive that 175,000 herring are taken at a single haul. One hundred thousand barrels are packed annually on the sounds. Grapes abound in profusion. This is the section of the famous Scuppernong, which is native and peculiar to North Carolina and, in the opinion of one qualified to speak by his experience and extensive travel, "will some day attract capital and skill in its manufacture of wine to a degree not surpassed even in the most celebrated wine districts of Europe. It is a marvel in the history of the grape, and its

size, abundance of produce, and luscious flavor would astonish the vine growers of Europe. It needs no pruning and wants space and light and heat from the sun. One vine will cover a quarter of an acre,* and its age extends beyond the memory of man. Its fruit contains all the elements of as good a wine as can be found any where in the world. I heard," he adds, "that eminent chemist and analyzer, Dr. Warren, of Boston, declare in a lecture that the scuppernong grape under proper management and skilful manipulation would make as good a wine as the celebrated "Tokay" of Hungary, and very much like it."†

But, as Dr. Mason says, "the scuppernong is a downright Southerner, and steadily refuses to bear at all North of Mason and Dixon line. In fact he is a native North Carolinian, and truer to his native State than many a North Carolina man or woman."

Not only does this region abound in fish, but in winter it is the resort of immense flocks of wild ducks, swans and geese, which afford much profit and amusement to amateurs and sportsmen.

The climate on the coast is mild and the winters not so rigorous as in higher localities in the same latitude, being tempered by the influences of the gulf stream and its proximity to the ocean. It is an error to suppose that because this section is swampy and low that is unhealthy. Dr. Emmons, the late able State Geologist, says "those who have cultivated these lands for forty years declare that their families enjoy as much health as those who live at a distance. Persons," he states, "who are in the habit of plunging into the swamps, knee deep, for draining, and live in the vicinity of the black vegetable mould, are rarely sick with fever."‡ The census

*Col. S. T. Carrow, Marshal of North Carolina, and a native and resident of this section, states that he has known a single scuppernong vine to cover a space of three acres.

†Hon. D. M. Barringer, late U. S. Envoy to Spain.

‡Report of 1858, p. 57.

proves that the longevity of this section is equal to any in the United States. While the mild climate enables out-door work every day in the year, the cattle, horses and mules keep fat on the native grasses for nine months in the year, and many never receive any grain or shelter the whole year.

II. The Middle Section, extending to the foot of the mountains, is adapted to the production of the cereals, tobacco, cotton and minerals. This whole region, as well as the mountain region, abounds with streams affording power enough to turn all the spindles of the world. Mines of gold, silver, iron, coal, copper and lime abound.

Gold was known to exist in North Carolina before the commencement of the present century. A large lump was found in Cabarrus county in 1799. *From that time to 1827 this State produced all the gold in the United States.* The total deposits from this State in the mints amount to more than ten million of dollars. This does not include all the production, for from its purity it is eagerly sought for by jewelers, and one-half of the products of the mines are thus absorbed.* The United States branch mint of North Carolina coined in 1838 5,048,641 50.† Many new mines are being discovered, and the attention of capitalists is drawn to this subject. With the modern improvements in machinery this industry is yet to produce more wonderful results.

"The richest gold mines," says Professor Kerr, to whose valuable researches the State is deeply indebted, "lie along and near the line of contact of the slates and granite. Also along this line the principal silver mines. The most noted is at Silver Hill, in Davidson county. The combination is silver, gold, copper, zinc and lead. Silver exists in Watanga county also."

Copper is found combined with gold also, and many mines that originally were worked for gold, on account of the increase

*Report upon the mineral resources of the United States by J. Ross Browne and James W. Taylor, 1867, p. 340.

†Finance report 1867, p. 340.

of copper pyrites, were abandoned ; several have been recently re-opened as copper mines.

Valuable diamonds have been found in the trans-Catawba country and in Lincoln and Rutherford counties.

Next to gold, and far more important, for it is "the king of metals," Iron abounds in this section. One belt exists from Surry, on the north, to King's Mountain, on the south ; another belt through Guilford, Randolph and Montgomery counties, and a third belt in Chatham, and elsewhere. These ores are specular, magnetic and hematite. Extensive deposits exist in Cherokee county. This is destined, when our railroads are finished, to become one of the most important industries of the State. But without coal, iron would lose much of its value. Coal is found in two districts known as the Dan River and Deep River Coal Fields. The Deep River bed has an area of more than forty square miles, containing more than 6,000,000 of tons to each square mile. This would give 1,000,000 tons annually for several hundred years. It is of the best quality and well suited to the manufacture of iron and gas.

Kerosene Oil has been discovered in this section. Limestone quarries exist in McDowell, Lincoln, Gaston and other counties. Alum and Copperas Slates are found in Cleaveland and Rutherford counties, enough to supply the whole continent.

The Slates form a notable feature in the geology of North Carolina. The Linville slates afford an abundant supply for building, grind stones and whet stones.

Manufacturing of Woolens, spinning and weaving Cotton, are carried on in this section to a large extent.* All the counties produce in abundance, when well tilled, Wheat, Corn, Rye, Oats, Tobacco and the best Meadow Grass, and the southern portions much Cotton. Excellent orchards of Peach, Pear, Apple and other fruits.

*There are 45 factories, (40 cotton and 5 woolen,) in North Carolina, employing 1,987 hands, \$2,272,000 invested, using 7,465,800 pounds of material, and manufacturing goods to the amount of \$8,635,780 annually.

This section is blessed with the finest climate and is free from the chilling rigor of the North and the enervating heat of the South. The mean annual temperature is 60 degrees (Fahrenheit); the mean summer heat 75 degrees, the mean winter, 43 degrees. The labors of the farm need never be suspended, and ploughing can be done at any and all seasons of the year. It is a fit home for a healthful and hardy population. There is not a more kind-hearted, law-abiding population in the world. "During my administration as Governor," says Jonathan Worth, "not a single instance occurred in the State where a sheriff had to summon either civil or military aid to execute the processes of the law; and as to crime, North Carolina may safely challenge comparison with any State in the Union.

III. I shall now speak of the Third Division—the Piedmont or Mountain region. This is the loveliest portion of the globe. Before its towering mountains and lovely valleys the beauties of the Rhine and the palisades of the Hudson sink into insignificance. Although abounding in mountains, which divide the waters falling into the Atlantic from those which fall into the Gulf of Mexico, yet this section contains large quantities of land of great fertility. Few of the lands are too steep for cultivation. They produce good crops of corn, wheat, oats and rye. In contests for prizes at agricultural fairs in Buncombe county, Gen. Clingman, long well known for his devotion to North Carolina, states that from 100 to 150 bushels of corn per acre have been awarded. Irish potatoes are produced in fabulous quantities, and no region surpasses it for clover and timothy. The finest peaches and apples on this continent, both in size and flavor, grow here. Grapes, the Catawba and others, flourish spontaneously. Horses and cattle are led out and fed from April to November on the mountains, and sheep brouse all the winter in good condition. No country is better timbered; white pine, hemlock, oaks in great variety and size, chesnut, hickory, locust, poplar and black walnut; the mountain birch, the mahogany of the mountaineer, bird's eye maple,

and cherry, are found of large size. Professor Kerr tells us he measured a cherry tree in Elk bottom more than nine feet around, and seventy-five feet to the first limb. This tree would be worth in New York one hundred dollars. Hundreds of acres of native cranberries are produced, from which large exportations are made. The ginseng is extensively exported to China from here; also wild ginger, snake-root, hellebore, spikenard and other medicinal herbs, render a return to this section of over \$250,000 annually.

Gold, iron, lead, silver and copper mines exist in this section, and some of them have been worked in Burke, Cherokee, Macon and Jackson to great advantage. The Cranberry Forge in Mitchell county, yields an iron equal to the best Swede.

No country more abounds in water-power, and this section is destined to present some town that will prove the Lowell of North Carolina. The French Broad river at Asheville is larger than the Merrimac at Lowell, and falls 600 feet in a distance of thirty miles, and soon a railroad will run along its banks. The streams attain a sufficient size in the higher valleys, and before they escape into Tennessee they have a descent of one thousand feet.

The business of stock raising, wool, and making cheese and butter, are destined to flourish, as they have already commenced in this section. Manufactures will follow.

The climate is exhilarating and bracing. The pure air invigorates the system so as to render existence almost a luxury. The celebrated Dr. Gibson, one of the Professors of the University of Pennsylvania, a close observer of climatology, visited Asheville in 1842 and analyzed the air of Buncombe: he assured me that it was the purest atmosphere on our continent. Many consumptive persons have resorted to this section and found relief. Being in a southern latitude and surrounded on all sides by lower and warmer regions, the climate is much milder than that of northern Virginia or Pennsylvania. In former years many wealthy persons from Charleston and elsewhere made this delightful region their summer homes.

A member of Congress who travelled through this section a few years ago, declared from his place in the House of Representatives, that this region surpassed in sublimity and beauty any portion of our country; and he verily believed that here was the Eden in which Adam and Eve dwelt in their days of innocency. Can we not feel with the lamented Gaston,—

“Then let all who love her, love this land of Eden,
As happy a spot as on this side of Heaven,
Where plenty and peace, love and beauty smiling o’er us,
Raise aloud, raise together the heart-thrilling chorus,
The Old North State forever.”

I have now gone over the three great physical divisions of the State; the productions, soil and climate of each set forth, in a manner perhaps tedious to you and not satisfactory even to myself.

The railroads of the State† afford communication nearly to every portion of the State and are one of the advantages of the

† RAILROADS OF NORTH CAROLINA.

- 1 Atlantic and North Carolina, from Goldsboro’ to Morehead City, 95 miles.
- 2 *Atlantic, Tennessee and Ohio, from Charlotte to Statesville, 42 miles.
- 3 *Chatham Railroad, from Raleigh to Gulf, 45 miles.
- 4 Charlotte and South Carolina, from Charlotte to Columbia, S. C., 108 miles.
- 5 Petersburg and Weldon, from Weldon to Petersburg, 64 miles.
- 6 North Carolina Railroad, from Charlotte to Goldsboro’, 223 miles.
- 7 Raleigh and Gaston, from Raleigh to Weldon, 97 miles.
- 8 Seaboard and Roanoke, from Weldon to Portsmouth, Va., 80 miles.
- 9 *Wilmington, Charlotte and Rutherford, from Wilmington to Rutherford.
- 10 Piedmont, from Greensboro to Danville, 48 miles.
- 11 Wilmington and Weldon, from Wilmington to Weldon, 162 miles.
- 12 Tarboro’ Branch, from Rocky Mount to Tarboro’, 16 miles.
- 13 Wilmington and Manchester, from Wilmington to Kingsville, 171 miles.
- 14 Western Railroad, from Fayetteville to Egypt, 48 miles.
- 15 Eastern Division Western N. C. R. R., (under contract to Asheville,) from Salisbury to Morganton, 78 miles.
- 16 *Western Division, from Asheville to Ducktown, 120 miles.
- 17 *Western Branch, from Asheville to Point Rock, 10 miles.
- 18 *Williamston and Tarboro’, 30 miles.
- 19 *North-Western N. C. R. R., from Greensboro’, by Salem, to Mt. Airy.
- 20 *Eastern and Western, from Henderson to Mt. Airy.
- 21 *Edenton and Suffolk.
- 22 *University, from Chapel Hill to Durham’s, 12 miles.

* Not complete.

present age. There are now twelve railroads completed in the State and ten in progress or under charter. In 1840 there were 53 miles of railroad in North Carolina; there are now 1042 miles, which gives a ratio of one mile of railroad to every 48 square miles of territory and to every 1000 inhabitants.*

When this great advance in civilization was at first agitated in our State, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Caldwell, President of the University, who was among the first and foremost in every work to improve the condition of North Carolina, visited Europe to obtain all the information in his power on this and kindred subjects. All well recollect his admirable essays, signed Carlton, in the papers of that day. I heard him before the Committee of Internal Improvement of the Legislature, in 1827, advocate this system of improvement, and he laid down a *projet* of a road from Asheville to Beaufort, as a base line, running through the city of Raleigh, and that all other roads should be adjuncts or branches of this. It is to be regretted that this plan had not been adopted, as it would have secured symmetry and uniformity. In other nations these works are planned and executed by the government. In France the railways are under the bureau of a cabinet officer. (*Ministere des travaux publics.*) In our State, however well constructed and properly managed, the railroads are not well projected. Their effect is to carry out the produce of our State to other

* North Carolina has one mile of railroad to every 48 square miles, and one mile to every 1,000 inhabitants.—*Poore's Manual of Railroads.*

She had in 1840	53	miles of railroad.
1841 to 1848.	87	" "
1849,	154	" "
1850-'51,	283	" "
1852,	355	" "
1853,	420	" "
1854,	572	" "
1855,	582	" "
1856,	691	" "
1857,	733	" "
1858,	849	" "
1859 to 1862,	937	" "
1863 to 1865,	984	" "
1866,	1,042	" "
1867,	1,042	" "

States to increase their importance and revenues at the expense of our own. The State has been compared to a strong man bleeding from both arms—for while the early construction of our roads led to Petersburg and Norfolk on the one side, the later ones lead to Columbia on the other; then some are parallel, as the Wilmington and Weldon with the Raleigh and Gaston, and also the North Carolina Railroad with the Wilmington and Rutherford. Some of them, it is difficult to say where they, as yet, are to lead to. Like the tortuous course of the politician,

“ They wire in and wire out,
And leave the people still in doubt
Whether the snake which made the track,
Was coming in or going back.”

They are, however, institutions of great value and necessity, in peace or war; and we believe that they will progress until the iron horse, having had his morning feed among the fertile valleys of our mountains, will dash in fiery speed across the Rocky Mountains until he laves his wearied sides in the waters of the Pacific.*

The cause of Education has received its merited attention in North Carolina. No State had its literary fund more munificently endowed nor dispensed it with a more princely hand than ours. But the disasters of war have affected our funds, and these ancient halls, where Apollo held his quiet court, resounded with the heavy tread of the sons of Mars. Our common schools have been seriously retarded, but under the patient and prudent superintendence of their present head, Hon. S. S. Ashley, these streams will again flow to every portion of our State, to invigorate and strengthen our land.

Already we see, yes, this day is evidence, that this renowned

* No one can fail to appreciate the value of railroads and their advantages. I find the following memorandum among the works of Thomas Jefferson: “ 1797, February 23d, left Alexandria for Philadelphia; 26th, reached Baltimore; March 2d, reached Philadelphia; spent for expenses \$49.08; time ten days.” The same trip can be performed now in $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours at an expense of \$5.50.

and ancient Institution, under the auspices of activity, intellect and energy, is rising like another Phoenix from its ashes, and again she will send out her alumni to be the statesmen of your congress, the judges of your law, aye, and even as she has done, the rulers of your nation.*

The truth must be acknowledged, and this is stated "more in sorrow than in anger," that there is no section of our Union where education has in former years been so neglected as in North Carolina. The statistics prove to us that she stands at a low point; that while in Connecticut only 1 person in

* The charter for the foundation of a University was granted by the Legislature in 1789, by the efforts of Gen. William R. Davie and others. The location was fixed at Chapel Hill, and the corner stone was laid on 12th October, 1793. The first instructor was Rev. Dewett Kerr, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and the first student (Hinton James, of Wilmington,) arrived in February, 1796. The first commencement was in 1798, when seven young gentlemen received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Dr. Joseph Caldwell, a native of New Jersey, and graduate of Princeton College, was President from 1804 (except four years, from 1812 to 1816, the unsuccessful administration of Dr. Robert H. Chapman,) till his death in 1835, when he was succeeded by Hon. David L. Swain, who was succeeded by Rev. Solomon Pool, 1869.

LIST OF COLLEGES IN NORTH CAROLINA.

1. University of the State at Chapel Hill,
2. Davidson College, (Presbyterian,) Mecklenburg county,
3. North Carolina College, (Lutheran,) Mt. Pleasant, Cabarrus county,
4. Olin College, (Presbyterian,) Iredell county,
5. Trinity College, (Methodist,) High Point, Guilford county,
6. Wake Forest, (Baptist,) Wake county,
7. Yadkin College, (Methodist,) Davidson county.

FEMALE COLLEGES AND HIGH SCHOOLS.

1. Charlotte College, at Charlotte,
2. Carolina College, Anson county,
3. Concord College, Statesville,
4. Davenport College, Lenoir, Caldwell county,
5. Floral College, Robeson county,
6. Goldsboro' College, Wayne county,
7. Greensboro' College, Greensboro',
8. Holston Conference, Asheville,
9. Kittrell's Springs, Granville county,
10. Louisburg College, Franklin county,
11. Chowan Female Institute, Murfreesboro',
12. Methodist College, Murfreesboro',
13. St. John's College, Oxford,
14. St. Mary's College, Raleigh,
15. Thomasville College, Davidson county,
16. Warrenton College, Warrenton.

568, over 20 years of age, cannot read or write, in North Carolina the humiliating fact is presented of one in every seven. Judge Reeve states in his work on Domestic Relations, that in the course of 20 years practice of the law in Connecticut, he was never met by five persons who could not read or write. Let any lawyer in North Carolina say what has been his experience. Let this humiliating fact rouse our rulers, our statesmen and our people to exertion, and remove this stigma from our escutcheon. What North Carolinian, when he goes abroad, has not had his cheeks to tingle with shame when this truth is alluded to. It is stated that on one occasion, at Washington, as one of our members of Congress, who was noted more for his wit than his prudence, was walking on Pennsylvania Avenue with another member (who was from Connecticut,) a drove of fine mules passed along the street, when the Carolinian remarked: "See! there are some of your constituents from Connecticut come to consult with you." "Oh, yes!" replied the other, "I received a notice of their coming, and moreover, they are now on the way to North Carolina to open schools." These gibes and taunts, instead of worrying us, should stimulate us to remove the reproach.

The Press of the State is one of the most remarkable features of the age. It is a fact that more newspapers are printed in our country, than in any other nation on the globe. They are the true exponents of the times, and give the best index of popular views and the current of popular opinion that we can possibly obtain from any other source. They are vast depositories of knowledge on every topic of the day that can engage the thoughts and enlist the attention of men. Lord John Russell, in his great speech in Parliament, in 1822, cited the multiplication and the improvement in newspapers as gratifying evidence of increased wealth and expanding culture of the middle classes of England. It is in our State a great power, and this idea comprehends how capable it is for good or evil.

There are at present published about sixty papers in the

State.* Three-fourths are political, the balance religious, agricultural and temperance. Some are daily, at Raleigh, Wilmington and Charlotte. It is a subject of regret that these, though conducted with ability, should be marked with so much acrimony. Abuse never yet made a convert to truth. Parties have always existed and must continue to exist in a free country, where every one thinks as he pleases and speaks what he thinks; and from the collision of opinion the truth is elicited. But these opinions should be stated with candor and maintained by truth. Mr. Jefferson justly said that "error of opinion may be freely tolerated where freedom of discussion is allowed to combat it." The tone of our press should be more elevated. The newspapers have been properly styled "popular educators." All that can, read them, and many read but little or nothing else. How important, then, that they should be guided by moderation and truth, and tempered with forbear-

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| <p>* 1. Advocate, Salem,
 2. American, Statesville,
 3. Anti-Radical, Newbern,
 4. Argus, Wadesboro,
 5. Biblical Recorder, Raleigh,
 6. Bulletin, Charlotte,
 7. Carolina Farmer, Wilmington,
 8. Carolinian, Tarboro',
 9. Carolinian, Elizabeth City,
 10. Citizen, Asheville,
 11. Courier, Newbern,
 12. Democrat, Charlotte,
 13. Deaf Mute Casket, Raleigh,
 14. Episcopal Methodist, Raleigh,
 15. Expositor, Greenville,
 16. Examiner, Salisbury,
 17. Eagle, Fayetteville,
 18. Farmers and Mechanics' Journal,
 Newbern,
 19. Friend of Temperance, Raleigh,
 20. Gazette, Warrenton,
 21. Index, Henderson,
 22. Insurance Gazette, Newbern,
 23. Intelligencer, Washington,
 24. Journal of Commerce, Newbern,
 25. Journal, Wilmington,
 26. Masonic Advertiser, Newbern,
 27. Messenger, Goldsboro',
 28. News, Weldon,
 29. News, Goldsboro'.</p> | <p>30. News, Mt. Airy,
 31. Old North State, Salisbury,
 32. Observer, Charlotte,
 33. Old Constitution, Danbury,
 34. Press, Ridgeway,
 35. Plaindealer, Wilson,
 36. Primitive Baptist, Raleigh,
 37. Pioneer, Asheville,
 38. Post, Wilmington,
 39. Presbyterian, Fayetteville,
 40. Press, Salem,
 41. Patriot, Greensboro',
 42. Robesonian, Lumberton,
 43. Republican, Greensboro',
 44. Reconstructed Farmer, Tarboro',
 45. Republican, Newbern,
 46. Standard, Raleigh,
 47. Star, Rutherfordton,
 48. Star, Wilmington,
 49. Sentinel, Raleigh,
 50. Southern Home, Charlotte,
 51. Sentinel, Winston,
 52. Southern Press and Farm, Raleigh,
 53. Times, Charlotte,
 54. Times, Newbern,
 55. Times, Jefferson,
 56. Visitor, Hendersonville,
 57. Vindicator, Rutherfordton,
 58. Zion's Landmark, Wilson.</p> |
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ance and patriotism. Under the impulse of excited and exaggerated statements, deeds of lawlessness and violence are committed, which render life insecure and destroy the happiness of the citizen and the character of the State.

We might dwell with patriotic pleasure on the Charitable Institutions of our State—the Insane Asylum at Raleigh, under the superintendence of the energetic Grissom, a monument to the philanthropy of that “white-winged messenger of peace,” Miss Dix, and the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, under the fostering care of Mr. Palmer; also, the Penitentiary and other institutions; but space and time do not allow, nor am I willing to trespass longer on your patience and kindness. But looking back upon the past, and dwelling on the present, what a glorious future is presented! It has been asserted that this nineteenth century has been the most important period in the history of our race that has elapsed since the creation of the world. Just pause and see what has been accomplished by the genius of man within our own day! The tunneling of the Alps at Mount Cenis; the Canal of Suez, connecting the Red Sea with the Mediterranean in Europe; the Railway uniting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans in our own nation; the Marine Telegraph uniting Europe and America—are achievements unrivalled in the history of the world, and monuments of the enterprise and genius of the present age. Within our own memory we had no telegraphs, no ocean steamships, no steam cars, or street railways. But now, by the advance of science, we can hear from the distant parts of the globe in a few moments, and read the debates of yesterday in the British Parliament in our morning papers here. It brings together the civilized world in close neighborhood. Still we have much to do, and we should be up and doing it. Everything encourages us,

“The vast unbounded future lies before us,
But clouds and darkness rest upon it.”

If war and disaster have clouded our prospects;* if our finances are disturbed and our industries crippled, yet we have our luxuriant soil, our healthful climate, our invigorating air, our mines of gold, iron and coal, and the future may yet be as full of prosperity as our past is full of proud recollections.

The approaching census, (the 9th,†) will show that we have more than a million of people, whose hearts should beat warmly for the honor of their country. These are the wealth of any country.

“What constitutes a State ?

Not high raised battlements, or labored mound,

Thick wall or moated gate,

Nor cities proud with spires and turrets crowned ;

Not bays and broad armed ports,

Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride ;

Not starred and spangled courts,

Where low-born baseness wafts perfume to pride.

No, men, high minded men,—

Men, who their duties know,

And know their rights, and knowing dare maintain,

And crush the tyrants, while they rend the chain.

These constitute a State.”†

* See Table appended.

† The approaching census, (the 9th census since the foundation of our government,) under the practiced and patient superintendence of its present accomplished head, (Gen. Francis A. Walker,) promises to be of great value. To us it is very important. Among other important results, it fixes the ratio of our representation in Congress for the next decade. Under the Constitution in 1789, North Carolina had five members. By the first census taken in 1790, North Carolina had ten members, next to Virginia, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, and equal to New York. The following table exhibits the ratio of representation under the census of the years 1790 to 1860, inclusive, and the number of members of Congress to which North Carolina was entitled:

CENSUS.	RATIO.	NO. OF MEMBERS.
1790	33,000	10
1800	33,000	12
1810	35,000	13
1820	40,000	13
1830	47,700	13
1840	70,680	9
1850	93,423	8
1860	126,825	7

It depends on the energy and fidelity of our census takers whether this number be increased or diminished. The present number of the House of Representatives is 243, the Senate 74 members. The British House of Lords has 462 members and the House of Commons has 658 members. The Senate of France has 169 members and the Legislative body has 376 members.

† Sir William Jones.

In every period of her history, in every peril and national danger, the sons of North Carolina have shown their noble character by deeds of valor and of virtue.

And in conclusion, shall I say nothing to the fair auditory who have so patiently endured this dry detail of facts and "bristly array of figures!"

The most patriotic efforts of man have ever been encouraged and sustained by woman's sympathy and woman's aid. Our continent had never been discovered had not woman aided, for when monarch after monarch refused to listen to the appeals of Columbus, and even her husband turned a deaf ear, Isabella pledged her jewels to raise the means, and thus enable Columbus "to give a new world to the kingdoms of Castile and Leon." And justly proud as is our State of the character of her sons, bright as are the gems of her hills and pure as is the gold of her mountains, prouder she is of her fair daughters—brighter than her gems and purer than her gold:

There's music in the winter blast
That sweeps thy hollow glen,
Less sturdy sons would shrink aghast
From piercing winds such as thou hast,
To nurse these iron men.
And thou hast gems, aye, living pearls!
And flowers of brightest hue;
How lovely are thy bright-eyed girls,
Of fairy forms and elfin curls,
And smiles like Herman's dew.

TABLE.

COUNTY.	COUNTY TOWN.	POPULA- TION IN 1860.	AREA IN SQUARE MILES.†	NO. OF ACRES LISTED.	AVERAGE VALUE OF ACRE.	DISTANCE FROM RALEIGH.	1869. AMOUNT PAID INTO THE TREASURY.
1 Alamance,	Graham,	11,852	500	235,662	\$ 6.10	miles 54	\$ 13,974
2 Alexander,	Taylorsville,	6,022	300	151,134	4.90	150	5,871
3 Alleghany,	Sparta,	3,590	200	119,356	2.80		3,577
4 Anson,	Wadesboro',	13,664	650	312,123	4.80	143	11,574
5 Ashe,	Jefferson,	7,956	395	239,137	2.03	202	7,197
6 Beaufort,	Washington,	14,766	600	392,078	1.70	127	14,747
7 Bertie,	Windsor,	14,310	800	351,251	5.60	157	14,178
8 Bladen,	Elizabeth Town,	11,995	800	508,922	2.60	99	*
9 Brunswick,	Smithville,	8,406	950	540,926	1.50	173	3,502
10 Buncombe,	Asheville,	12,651	1,000	346,274	3.42	256	*
11 Burke,	Morganton,	9,237	400	194,389	3.85	197	9,208
12 Cabarrus,	Concord,	10,546	350	221,661	7.80	139	19,739
13 Caldwell,	Lenoir,	7,497	450	219,035	3.90	200	8,054
14 Camden,	Camden C. H.,	5,343	280	110,883	6.90	219	4,080
15 Carteret,	Beaufort,	8,186	400	144,155	2.50	168	6,408
16 Caswell,	Yanceyville,	16,215	400	265,338	8.50	66	12,436
17 Catawba,	Newton,	10,729	250	251,669	5.90	175	13,277
18 Chatham,	Pittsboro',	19,101	700	494,712	4.40	34	19,993
19 Cherokee,	Murphy,	9,166	700	1,205,993	1.40	367	5,874

TABLE.—(Continued.)

20 Chowan,	Edenton,	6,842	250	80,948	\$	3.30	182	\$	5,927
21 Clay,	Hayesville,			99,060		1.90			1,699
22 Cleveland,	Shelby,	12,348	650	274,255		3.20	190		11,522
23 Columbus,	Whiteville,	8,597	600	393,218		1.80	125		8,357
24 Craven,	Newbern,	16,268	1,000	469,640		1.70	120	*	
25 Cumberland,	Fayetteville,	16,369	600	471,666		2.70	60		21,376
26 Currituck,	Currituck C. H.,	7,415	200	142,298		4.20	242	*	5,926
27 Dare,									
28 Davidson,	Lexington,	16,601	650	345,861		7.50	117		18,545
29 Davie,	Mocksville,	8,494	250	162,535		7.60	120	*	
30 Duplin,	Kenansville,	15,784	670	453,562		2.90	89		11,211
31 Edgecombe,	Tarboro',	17,376	600	322,295		10.60	76		39,289
32 Forsythe,	Winston,	12,692	250	208,580		5.50	110		18,088
33 Franklin,	Louisburg,	14,107	450	300,132		5.00	36		14,821
34 Gaston,	Dallas,	9,307	350	220,556		5.10	175		12,633
35 Gates,	Gatesville,	8,443	300	182,882		5.00	167		5,888
36 Granville,	Oxford,	23,396	750	487,927		6.90	45		27,551
37 Greene,	Snow Hill,	7,925	280	151,960		5.80	89		11,242
38 Guilford,	Greensboro',	20,056	600	407,214		5.40	82		32,660
39 Halifax,	Halifax,	19,442	680	414,708		7.10	87	*	22,699
40 Harnett,	Lillington,	8,039	590	335,921		2.20			
41 Haywood,	Waynesville,	5,801	900	324,526		1.60	294		7,099
42 Henderson,	Hendersonville,	10,448	600	188,570		4.80	250	*	
43 Hertford,	Winton,	9,501	320	194,140		5.20	155		9,406
44 Hyde,	Swanquarter,	7,732	430	149,915		5.60	203		5,847

45 Iredell,	15,347	600	360,670	\$	4.90	145	\$	15,845
46 Jackson,	5,515	1,308	315,644		6.10		*	
47 Johnston,	15,656	670	459,555		3.30	27		17,348
48 Jones,	5,730	380	203,496		3.40	129		5,828
49 Lenoir,	10,220	450	255,030		5.30	80		10,929
50 Lincoln,	8,195	420	177,247		4.30	172		11,440
51 Macon,	6,004	600	442,206		1.01	331		6,147
52 Madison,	5,908	450	207,616		1.20			4,531
53 Martin,	10,195	450	259,931		4.80	140		13,650
54 McDowell,	7,120	450	200,120		4.10	200		6,315
55 Mecklenburg,	17,374	720	311,006		6.50	158		41,151
56 Mitchell,	7,649	550	194,307		1.03			3,045
57 Montgomery,	11,427	650	278,300		1.90	115		6,409
58 Moore,	11,687	600	500,758		2.10	79		8,321
59 Nash,	15,429	1,000	310,075		4.70	44		12,158
60 New Hanover,	13,372	350	496,893		2.90	148		58,004
61 Northampton,	8,856	600	316,358		6.70	108		20,468
62 Onslow,	16,947	650	287,497		2.20	145		7,692
63 Orange,	8,940	250	267,589		5.50	40		17,864
64 Pasquotank,	7,238	250	124,870		10.20	215		10,400
65 Perquimans,	11,221	370	145,951		6.40	194		8,196
66 Person,	16,080	650	234,103		6.40	54		11,058
67 Pitt,	4,043	300	366,302		7.30	102		*
68 Polk,	16,793	880	130,592		1.30			3,518
69 Randolph,	11,009	900	497,227		3.90	72		18,436
70 Richmond,	15,489	900	480,915		2.50	135		12,131
71 Robeson,			571,337		2.70	91		14,638
Statesville,								
Webster,								
Smithfield,								
Trenton,								
Kinston,								
Lincolnton,								
Franklin,								
Marshall,								
Williamston,								
Marion,								
Charlotte,								
Bakersville,								
Troy,								
Carthage,								
Nashville,								
Wilmington,								
Jackson,								
Jacksonville,								
Hillsboro',								
Elizabeth City,								
Hertford,								
Roxboro',								
Greenville,								
Columbus,								
Ashboro',								
Rockingham,								
Lumberton,								

TABLE.—(Continued.)

72 Rockingham,	Wentworth,	16,746	450	337,547	\$	6.01	116	\$	19,105
73 Rowan,	Salisbury,	14,589	600	310,593		7.50	118		22,810
74 Rutherford,	Rutherfordton,	11,573	870	302,988		3.50	216		11,258
75 Sampson,	Clinton,	16,624	940	507,132		2.90	94		11,960
76 Stanly,	Albemarle,	7,801	280	238,341		2.80	110		6,180
77 Stokes,	Danbury,	10,402	550	258,462		3.70	110		9,272
78 Surry,	Dobson,	10,380	900	284,609		3.70	145		11,090
79 Transylvania,	Brevard,			155,341		3.04			3,398
80 Tyrrel,	Columbia,	4,944	320	114,153		3.06	200		4,092
81 Union,	Munroe,	11,202	350	399,685		8.10	160		13,956
82 Wake,	Raleigh,	28,627	950	572,427		5.70			54,435
83 Warren,	Warrenton,	15,726	480	317,976		6.40	62		17,246
84 Washington,	Plymouth,	6,357	700	177,039		3.20	162		6,426
85 Watauga,	Boone,	4,957	500	190,174		2.10		*	
86 Wayne,	Goldsboro',	14,905	450	339,125		6.20	51		24,004
87 Wilkes,	Wilkesboro',	14,749	550	383,574		2.70	172		9,407
88 Wilson,	Wilson,	9,720	250	202,036		5.40			13,906
89 Yadkin,	Yadkinville,	10,714	310	209,874		4.30			8,540
90 Yancey,	Burnsville,	8,655	680	147,997		2.30	245		3,195
				26,871,860		†3.90			\$1,067,633

† Average of the State.

* No returns.

† The area is approximate.

These taxes are derived from the following sources :

Taxation on land,		
" Town Property,	\$ 246,370.14	
" Personal Property,	32,710.38	
Unlisted Taxables,	168,943.84	
Special tax for Railroads,	45,223.16	
	574,385.48	\$ 1,067,633.00
		<hr/>
Total Valuation of Land,	\$69,990,991.00	
" Town Property,	9,566,353.00	
" Personal Estate,	45,914,279.00	
		\$ 125,471,623.00
		<hr/>
Number of Acres Land Listed,	26,871,860	
Mem : Condition Public Treasury, June 1st, 1870,		
balance on hand,		\$ 16,196.74
Receipts from Literary Fund,		296,711.81
" " Public Fund,		1,011,442.40
		<hr/>
		\$ 1,324,351.01
Disbursements from Literary Fund,	\$ 177,943.69	
" " Public Fund,	920,265.61	
		\$ 1,098,224.30
		<hr/>
		\$ 226,126.71

STATE DEBT.

Bonds issued prior to 1861,
 Bonds issued since 1861, under acts passed before Feb. 20, 1861,
 Bonds issued since close of the war, not special tax,
 Special tax bonds, now outstanding,

\$ 8,378,200.00
 1,128,000.00
 8,836,845.00
 9,907,000.00

\$ 28,250,045.00

Interest on these Bonds,

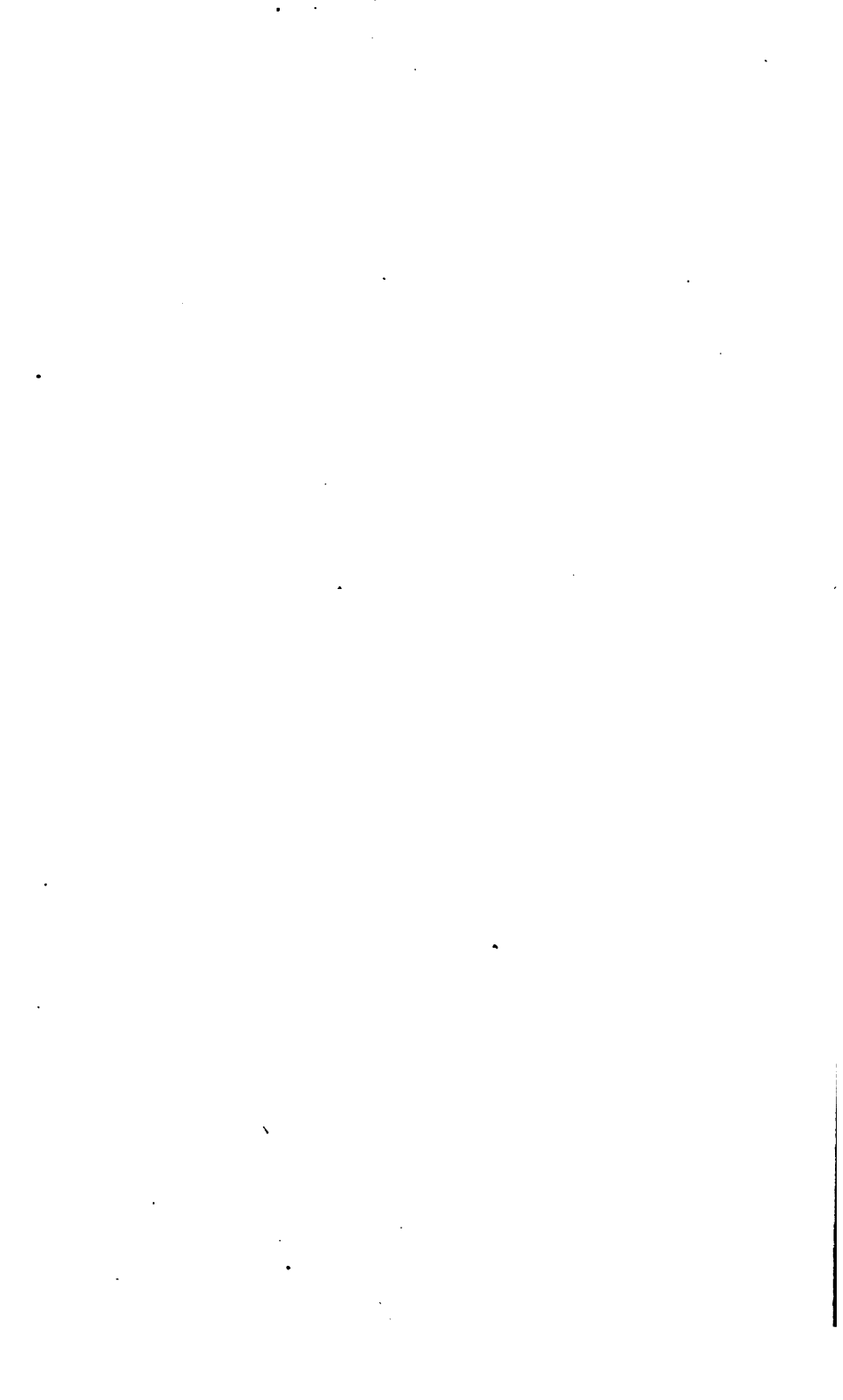
\$ 1,695,002.95

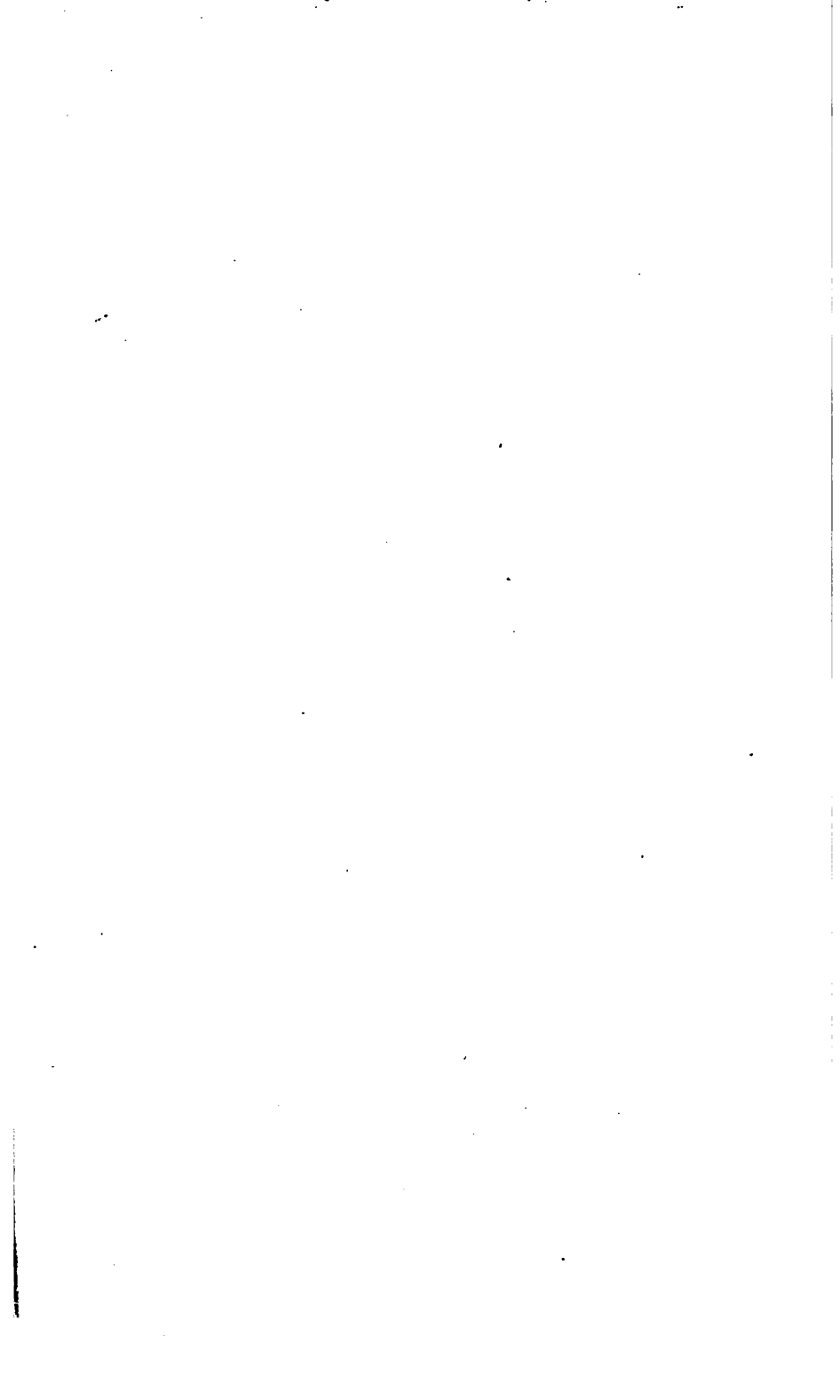
Disbursements in 1869,

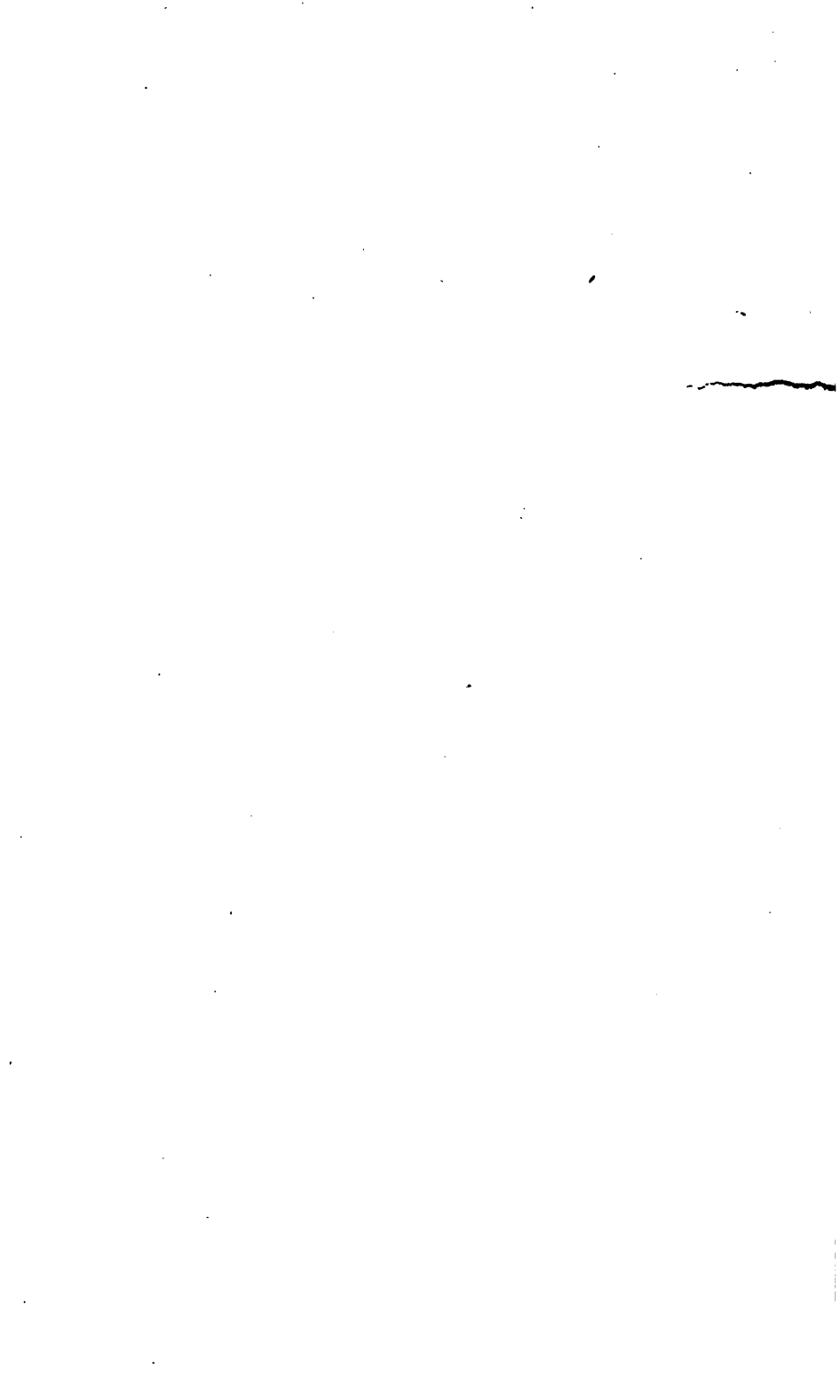
1,098,224.30

Am't required to carry on the State Government and pay interest,

\$ 2,793,227.25







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AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS
WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN
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DAY AND TO \$1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY
OVERDUE.

FEB 9

ICLF (N)

28 Mar '48

27 May '49

REC. CIL

JUN 14 '78

RECEIVED

JUN 25 '60-3 PM

REC. CIL

JUN 7 '78

JAN 21 1970 00

JUL 13 1978

IN STACKS

JUN 7 '70

REC'D LD MAR 01 '70-3 PM

Due end of FALL Quarter
subject to recall after -

OCT 25 '72 0

IN STACKS

OCT 13 '72

REC'D LD

DEC 13 '72

REC'D CIRC DEPT

SEP 18 '74

MAR 18 1975 13

21-100m-12; '43 (8796a)

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